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PRAVDA VIEWS REASONS FOR DEADLOCKED MBFR TALKS

PM091121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 81 p 6

[Ye. Kaminskiy, I. Melnikov dispatch: "Eight Years On: At the Talks on Reducing Armed Forces and Arms in Central Europe"]

[Text] Vienna, July--Vienna's Hofburg Palace. Quite recently, at the entrance to the Redoubt Hall, which is decked with the flags of 12 states, we witnessed a curious scene. An elderly Austrian, holding a fidgety boy by the hand, was watching the diplomats dispersing after a plenary session.

"The first time I brought my grandson to see these flags," he observed, "he was in a baby carriage: He was less than a year old. Now he is in the second grade at school...."

In fact the subject of the talks, scrupulously agreed on at preparatory consultations 8 years ago--the mutual reduction of armed forces and associated measures in central Europe, and the concluding communique adopted in this connection on 28 June 1973 are still the only fruits of the Vienna meetings. Not a single line of the text of a future agreement has yet been written.

The paradox is that the participants in the Vienna talks have virtually all they need for the successful completion of work on a first-stage agreement. The principles have been stipulated for a future agreement, which is to ensure, first and foremost, that neither side's security is damaged. The directly participating states have been defined--the states which will have to reduce their troops and armaments within a strictly agreed region, on the territory of the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and also the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In the course of the talks themselves the positions have drawn closer together, albeit slowly and with difficulty. Incidentally, Western representatives acknowledge this too.

The sides have agreed that the first stage of reductions must cover USSR and U.S. ground forces, that in the period between the first two stages individual restrictions will be imposed on those countries as to the levels of their troops remaining after the reductions, and that the Soviet and American contingents covered by the agreement will be withdrawn from central Europe to their own countries' territory within a year. An understanding has also been reached that the first-stage agreement will operate for 3 years--sufficient time to work out a second-stage agreement.

At the same time there is still no consensus on a number of key elements in the agreement, because of the West's unconstructive stance. For instance, there is no agreement on the actual size of reductions in Soviet and American ground forces at the first stage. While insisting that the USSR withdraw whole divisions, for many years the West has been unwilling to say in what units and formations the American troops will be withdrawn, and even wants one-third of them to be withdrawn as individual servicemen.

Ignoring the agreed principles of reciprocity and nondetriment to security, the West European direct participatns--the FRG, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and also Canada, which account for approximately three-fourths of the NATO military groups' arms and troops in central Europe, are also refusing to make treaty commitments on "freezing" the numerical strength of their contingents in that region during the period of operation of the first agreement. Together with the United States, they are refusing to make a commitment within the framework of the first agreement on reducing their ground forces at the second stage on the basis of balance [sorazmernost] or approximate proportionality of numerical strength of each of the direct participants' troops.

Of course, the Soviet Union, in moving toward the reduction and subsequent limitation of the remaining numbers of its troops in central Europe, has a right to have a firm, treaty-based guarantee that at the second stage those direct participants will not only hold talks, but will reduce their troops and armaments, as envisaged in the agreed mandate for the talks.

Contrary to the accord reached, the Western side is, on various pretexts, trying to avoid carrying out a reduction in American armaments at the first stage. After proposing, in 1975, their own procedure for reductions on a selective basis (American nuclear facilities in exchange for Soviet tanks), the NATO countries then took the unprecedented step, in December 1979, of withdrawing their own proposal from the conference table. This was done after discussions had already begun in the Hofburg on concrete terms for the proposal's implementation. The Soviet Union, for its part, has declared its readiness to reduce its armaments at the first stage simultaneously with the United States, either on a selective basis (Soviet tanks in exchange for American nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles) or in conjunction with the units and formations being withdrawn.

While emasculating the section of the agreed mandate which concerns the reduction of armed forces and arms, the West is at the same time trying to over inflate the significance of the "concomitant measures." Yet the meaning of such measures is inherent in the phrase itself: They are indeed concomitant, not principal, and they are intended to serve one goal--that of ensuring the fulfillment by all the participants of the commitments they adopt. One wonders: Why come to blows at this stage over monitoring, when there is nothing to monitor yet? But the West in not only hurrying to put the cart before the horse, it clearly wants to overload the cart. Despite the accord reached earlier, it is insisting on extending certain measures for monitoring and verification of the first-stage reductions far beyond the bounds of the agreed region, so as to include a considerable part of the USSR's European territory.

In a word, the situation at the Vienna talks is characterized, on the one hand, by deadlock, but on the other it is reminiscent of waiting for a train when you cannot get the green light to come ahead of it. The questions on which differences persist are complex, but--as local observers believe--by no means insuperable.

As for the socialist states, for the sake of strengthening peace and European security and preventing a military conflict they have gone considerably more than halfway to meet the West. They persistently seek solutions to questions on which no agreement has yet been reached. To this end as long ago as last year the socialist countries advocated that the participants concentrate on the elaboration of the first agreement on reducing Soviet and American ground forces. They proposed that the U.S. contribution to the reduction be 13,000 men, while the USSR's should be 20,000--and the latter's total reductions would not include the 20,000-strong contingent of Soviet troops withdrawn from the GDR on a unilateral basis.

The socialist states have put forward a compromise formula for maintaining the collective levels of the numerical strengths of the two military-political alliances' troops in central Europe which are to be established as a result of the two stages of agreements. According to this formula no NATO state or Warsaw Pact country would in the future have more troops in Central Europe than all the other members of its alliance put together. The socialist states have also expressed readiness to implement, within the framework of the first agreement, a collective "freeze" on the numerical strength of the troops of other direct participants in the talks--apart from the USSR and the United States--during the period between the two stages of the agreements, thereby meeting the West's wishes halfway.

However, further progress at the talks hinges on the West's categorical stance, which is lacking in constructiveness and flexibility and which is, frankly, devoid of political will or readiness to reach agreement with the socialist states on mutually acceptable terms. The West makes no great secret of the fact that it would like to obtain unilateral military advantages as a result of the forthcoming agreements.

It was to this end, for instance, that the West put forward the notorious concept of "disproportion" in the numerical strength of ground forces. The substantially overstated Western estimates of the numerical strength of the socialist countries' troops in central Europe were made to fit this pattern--estimates which the NATO countries, contrary to reality, are trying to make the basis of calculations of the volume of reductions. On the basis of these estimates the West demands--without the slightest justification--that the socialist states reduce their troops, over the two stages, by nearly 200,000 more men than the NATO countries. Such demands look strange in view of the fact that the latest exchange of updated figures indicates that the total numbers of NATO troops in central Europe are now somewhat higher than those of the Warsaw Pact states.

While asserting that the stumbling block at the talks is now the lack of agreement on the figures for the socialist states' ground forces, at the same time the West is not seeking any solution to this problem of its own creation. It is stubbornly refusing to explain what its overstated estimates are based on and is evading making a decision on the so-called "disputed categories" of personnel, which have been calculated differently for the troops of the Eastern and Western sides. It rejects the real alternatives proposed by the socialist countries for overcoming the difficulties. So the matter does not hinge on figures or concomitant measures. For the Western side that is only a pretext enabling it to avoid making decisions on the questions of principle.

The socialist countries have no more important foreign policy task than the active defense of peace and detente and the struggle for a radical improvement in the international atmosphere and the curbing of the arms race. Clear evidence of this is provided by the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which gave rise to concrete new initiatives on the most burning problems of today. The CPSU and the Soviet state are continuing to work persistently on the implementation of this program for strengthening peace. This aim is also served by the appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world just adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. "It is necessary now, today, to do everything possible to bar the way to people with a predilection for unlimited armaments and military adventures," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stated in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet July session. "Everything possible must be done to safeguard people's right to life. And here nobody can remain aloof or indifferent: This matter affects everyone."

The negative metamorphoses in the Western stance at the talks are a direct result of the increased aggressiveness of the North Atlantic bloc and its course of stepping up military preparations. It is in central Europe that NATO strategists plan to deploy most of the 572 American medium-range Pershing II nuclear missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles. It is here too that the Pentagon is stockpiling weapons for an extra five American divisions, and U.S. troops in the region are being built up.

The United States and some of its NATO allies, in implementing a long-term course of building up armaments, fear that the attainment of the first agreement in Vienna, though it may not be on a very large scale in military terms, could have a considerable political effect. It would show the European states the real possibility of ensuring reliable security by means of mutual reduction of troops and armaments. But it is this which is not to Washington's liking. Hence its allergic response to practically everything that leads to the limitation and reduction of troops and armaments and to disarmament. This explains Western press attempts to hush up the Vienna talks.

The impression is created that at the Pentagon's dictation Western representatives in Vienna are engaged more in clearing the way for the arms race than in the quest for mutually acceptable agreements. And the American administration's calls on the allies to conduct talks with socialist states "from a position of strength" penetrate the age-old walls of the Hofburg. However, such attempts have proved fruitless in the past and they will yield no fruit in Vienna.

BRITISH, SOVIET SPEAKERS CITED ON MBFR TALKS

LD091934 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] Vienna, 9 Jul, TASS--Today's regular plenary session of the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments in central Europe has been addressed by Ambassador Jackson, head of the British delegation. He, as the media have been told, tried to lay the blame for the lack of understanding in Vienna on the socialist countries and held forth on a major build up of "eastern military strength in the strategic nuclear forces and theatre nuclear forces, and also in the combat potential of the conventional armed forces."

Using his right to reply, Ambassador Nikolay Tarasov, leader of the Soviet delegation, also addressed the session. The British delegate, he said, complained that the socialist countries called in question the West's political will for reaching an agreement. It is a fact, however, that the NATO countries avoid resolving the key problems of the first agreement. It is they who would not give a reply to the proposals made by the socialist countries on July 10 and on November 13, 1980, as regards the volume of reductions, the "collective freezing" of the strength of the sides' forces between the stages of reduction, and the mechanism of maintaining equal collective ceilings on the numerical strength of the two alliances' forces.

Ambassador Jackson cited the communique of the latest session of the NATO Council and claimed that the West sought to achieve parity in the numerical strength of the forces of the two military-political groupings. But how is it possible to achieve this objective, the Soviet spokesman asked, if the West European countries and Canada not only refuse to take part in force reductions at the first stage but would not assume explicit international commitments on reduction at the second stage? This betrays their true intention, that of securing the reduction and limitation of the Soviet forces, constituting half of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in central Europe, and paying for it with a token reduction of American troops, which would not even offset the increase in the U.S. contingent during the past few years, while putting the forces of the other Western participants completely outside the framework of reductions and limitations.

If the East really threatens to build up these forces, Nikolay Tarasov went on to say, why then do not the Western countries agree to the proposal of the socialist states on the non-increase of troops for the period of the talks that was made as far back as 1974? Commenting on the West's refusal to reduce armaments, the Soviet spokesman stressed that the recent appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to parliaments and peoples of the world explicitly stated that there is no type of weaponry which the Soviet Union would not be ready to reduce on reciprocal basis, by agreement with other countries.

NOVOYE VREMYA CALLS FOR BLOC POLITICAL UNITY

PM090945 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 27, 3 Jul 81 pp 18-21

[N. Shishlin article: "Unity--A Condition of Success"]

[Text] Not only countries which are directly or indirectly involved in crisis situations suffer as a result of the exacerbation of international tension, but international cooperation deteriorates, states' social programs are cut ...and the truth suffers.

Those who are to blame for slowing down the detente process, namely the ruling circles in the United States and certain other NATO countries, naturally want their course to be shared and supported by the international public. They stubbornly try to create a distorted picture of the socialist world, to give their own reinterpretation of the socialist states' domestic and foreign policy and to cast aspersions on the nature of their relations with each other. Here they make use of refined but unscrupulous means.

It was F.M. Dostoyevskiy who noted that a half-truth is more dangerous than a lie. For instance, they take some isolated fact out of the context of the chain of events, shine the propagandist searchlights on it while casting everything else into shadow, and obtain the desired result: The realities, taken in their totality, are hidden from view.

Socialist countries have often had to be content with the accusation that they are allegedly "conservative," that their political thought is "fettered" by Marxist-Leninist theory and that the Soviet Union is "opposed" to anything new that arises in the course of social development.

Yet you only have to take an unprejudiced look at, say, Soviet reality to see how many changes are taking place in all spheres of the country's life.

Practically a permanent element--and, let us add, an extremely important one--is the improvement of socialist democracy. The new Soviet Constitution did not simply enshrine the democratic rights and freedoms gained by Soviet working people but laid particular emphasis on safeguarding these rights and freedoms. Concern for improving citizens' material circumstances combined with tremendous attentiveness to culture enables many millions of people to become actively involved in questions of managing both production and society. The strengthening of the party's leading role (which the West often sees as "rigidity" in the Soviet system) takes place first and foremost through the consolidation of its ties with the masses and through a most attentive attitude to the masses' opinion. In this connection all public organizations of working people--the trade unions, the Komsomol and others--are appreciably stepping up their activity.

An equally constant element in the Soviet Union's development lies in the changes taking place in the organization of the country's economic life. And it would be strange, to say the least, if the gigantic and growing production apparatus, all those tens of thousands of plants, enterprises, institutes, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, were managed just as things were managed in the first decades of Soviet power. It is characteristic that at all the recent CPSU congresses, in particular the 23d-26th congresses, economic innovations have held an important place each time.

A smooth-running system of management of the national economy is the ideal. The development of production forces inevitably makes particular methods of work organization or economic management obsolete. And that is precisely why the improvement of the system of national economic management is a task to which planning organs come back again and again, so as to ensure that the management machinery accords as far as possible with the requirements of the development of production forces.

Changes are also made in political theory. For communists, Marxism-Leninism has never been a code of immutable rules and laws. This theory is being constantly tested and enriched by social practice. New concepts and ideas emerge, reflecting the requirements of the current stage of development. A spirit of creativity and daring is what distinguishes Marxist-Leninist science. Loyalty to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism presupposes not only care of what has already been tested and discovered, but also bold, really revolutionary study of new problems and tasks.

The socialist organization of society has proved to be a flexible form for countries at different levels of political and economic development. But every socialist country has its own face, its own peculiarities, its own features. This, of course, is on the credit, not the debit side for the socialist world. Speaking at the 26th CPSU Congress, L.I. Brezhnev particularly drew Soviet communists' attention to the need to study and make wider use of the fraternal countries' experience in the organization of production, management, the resolution of national economic problems and so forth.

The socialist society is a dynamic society. This is manifested in the political, economic and spiritual spheres. Incidentally, the CPSU Central Committee letter to the PZPR Central Committee, on which considerable speculation has been based in the West, stressed: "We greeted with complete understanding the change in the PZPR leadership and the desire to overcome the flagrant errors associated with the violation of the natural laws of building socialism, to restore the confidence of the masses and above all the working class in the party and to strengthen socialist democracy."

Conservatism has never gone hand in hand with socialism, nor could it do so. A critical attitude to the experience accumulated, sensitivity toward what is new, and the ability to consistently take the stages of social development one at a time are what distinguishes Marxist-Leninist parties which lead the building of a new society.

People in the West assert that the socialist countries would like to protect themselves from the capitalist world with a thick, impenetrable wall and that they implement all but an isolationist policy. They add that Marxists do not even notice the evolution of capitalism.

But they are "taking offense" needlessly. The capitalist world does not do at all badly in terms of attention from Marxists, and it goes without saying that the development of capitalism is a reality. There are many complex and interesting new phenomena, both in the organization of the capitalist economy and in social policy. Without going into these problems in depth now, let us observe that communists do strive to assess them in the most serious way.

As for mutually useful cooperation between socialist and capitalist states, there is no denying that the potential is far from fully exploited. Surely it is not normal for business ties between such major powers as the Soviet Union and the United States to be counted in extremely modest sums in material terms? Of course not. But it is not the Soviet Union which is implementing a discriminatory line in trade with the United States. It is not the Soviet Union which resorts to embargos on deliveries of various goods to the United States.

It is well known that talks have been underway for a number of years between EEC and CEMA representatives on the conclusion of a common agreement defining the principles of economic relations between them. But there is still no agreement. The Common Market countries, while elaborating a joint approach to ties with individual socialist countries, do not want the socialist countries to have a joint approach to ties with the Common Market. It is not hard to see what dictates this policy, but it cannot be justified.

It is easy to imagine the material gain to all our continent's peoples if the Europeans got together to resolve such problems as, for instance, energy, transportation and environmental conservation. Ideas on this score have been put forward by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. They remain fully relevant today.

The socialist states advocate strict observance of the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, including the section concerning the exchange of spiritual values and the expansion of human contacts. And, of course, if today's ties in the sphere of culture, tourism and sport are compared with those of "cold war" times, there has been perceptible progress. But that progress could and should be incomparably greater if the West--or, more precisely, certain services in Western states--gave up using ties of this kind in interests remote from those of peace cooperation.

The very concept of freedom has acquired and is continuing to acquire its true meaning with the development of the socialist society. Tremendous social gains for the working people are associated with socialist ideas and practice. Great ideals of equality, friendship and fraternity between peoples are inspired by the socialist countries' foreign policy. And how feeble are the morose, ignorant arguments about communism as a "gloomy chapter in mankind's history" whose last page is all but being written before our eyes!

Assertions by Western politicians and ideologists to the effect that the socialist countries are indifferent to the concerns and worries of the Third World are downright lies.

The socialist countries are completely understanding about the developing states' desire to strengthen their political and economic independence. Within the bounds of their capabilities they energetically promote their development and help young independent states to create new industrial sectors, develop modern agricultural production and train national cadres for various levels of the national economy.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are convinced that more can and must be done to speed up the progress of Third World countries. This dictates the Soviet Union's well-known proposal on reducing the biggest states' military budgets and using some of the resources thus released to help countries which are lagging behind in economic development.

The socialist countries share the Nonaligned Movement's viewpoint on the need to democratize international economic relations and eliminate any elements of inequality and discrimination. The Third World's concerns are concerns which affect all mankind. It is in the general interest to act in such a way as to ensure that no country or people experiences the torments of hunger and poverty.

But it is true that it is unrealistic to expect the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries to align themselves with a policy toward Third World countries which, if it leads to any improvement and upsurge in the developing states' economy, will do so only on the condition that the rich become richer and the transnational corporations' profits soar.

The countries of our community are fully aware that the earth is mankind's common home. Concord and trust between peoples is a necessary condition of peace and prosperity for each country and each people.

At the same time the entire experience of the socialist states' development convinces them of the need to take special care to strengthen cooperation with each other. The unity and cohesion of the socialist countries is a firm guarantee of their successful resolution of their national tasks and the firmness of their independence.

We have institutions of cooperation which have stood the test of time. In the military-political sphere there is the Warsaw Pact, and in the economic sphere--CEMA. There is also an extensive system of treaty relations providing for mutual assistance among the socialist countries. And there is the informal alliance of communist and workers parties which adhere to the same Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It is party cooperation which is the pivot of the extensive relationships between the socialist countries. Significant new steps to deepen the socialist states' collaboration, above all at summit meetings.

This collaboration itself is by no means the result of bureaucratic decisions. It grows out of the requirements of social development, out of each socialist country's national interests, correctly understood, and the socialist states' common international tasks.

Take the foreign policy sphere, for instance. There have been more than enough examples in the past where only thanks to united actions and mutual support have the socialist countries successfully overcome numerous challenges from the imperialist states. The socialist countries' united action and the coordination of their foreign policy efforts were decisive in helping to achieve the turnabout in the seventies from rigid confrontation to detente and its historic achievements, such as the recognition of the principle of inviolability of borders, the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act and the development of mutually useful ties between countries belonging to different social systems.

Even in our day there are many examples of how mutual support has helped socialist countries to cope with refined pressure from the forces of militarism and hegemonism.

That is how things are in Southeast Asia. Nobody can doubt that Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea would most of all like nothing to distract them from their creative tasks. They have suffered enough and have earned their right to a peaceful life. But there is no tranquility or stability in Southeast Asia.

The main reason for this is China's hegemonist policy toward its neighbors. The Indochina countries propose the conclusion of nonaggression treaties with the PRC. How does Beijing react? It rejects these proposals. Vietnam repeatedly proposes to China that talks be resumed with a view to determining urgent measures to restore peace and stability on the border. Concrete possibilities are named: ending the conflicts, disbanding troops, creating a demilitarized zone. But Beijing rejects these proposals literally out of hand.

This strong-arm policy, encouraged by the United States (as was indicated by the results of the recent visit by American Secretary of State Haig to Beijing), is being implemented more and more shamelessly.

The Indochina countries propose to the ASEAN group of countries that a regional conference be held, so as to jointly seek possibilities for eliminating complications in that extensive region. But both Beijing and Washington are practically ordering the ASEAN countries to boycott the Indochina states' peace-loving proposals.

Politics has no subjunctive mood. It deals with the actual state of affairs, not with situations which might exist. All the same, it is not hard to imagine how unbridled the hegemonist pressure on Southeast Asia could become if Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea did not have reliable friends in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

A similar picture can be seen in the Western Hemisphere, around Cuba, only there it is the United States itself which implements the strong-arm policy. Socialist Cuba has repeatedly stressed its readiness to normalize relations with the United States if the latter renounces its political and economic boycott of the first socialist state in Latin America. But the United States has never taken any step to meet these reasonable proposals.

Cuba has done and is doing a great deal to develop harmonious relations among the countries of Central America and the Caribbean and the entire Latin American region. But the United States is cynically interfering in independent states' internal affairs and trying to twist their southern neighbors' arms and make them wind down relations with Havana. Of course, the Cuban leaders are absolutely right when they stress the significance of the Soviet Union's and the other socialist states' internationalist support for the cause of Cuban freedom and independence.

Certain imperialist circles are operating in a similar way vis-a-vis Poland, albeit not so overtly. The Polish official authorities have repeatedly reported increased activity by foreign subversive centers, a growing number of instances of recruitment of Polish citizens and a relentless propaganda campaign whose purpose is to spread rumors and cause turmoil among the Polish public. Moreover, the most senior U.S. state figures consider that they have the right to say what the Polish state's leading organs can and cannot do in their own country.

The decisions of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum quite rightly stress that friendship and alliance with the USSR are the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy, guarantee the country's independence and security and also create favorable conditions for Poland's development.

All these examples--and I could give many more--demonstrate the vital importance for the socialist countries of the closest political cooperation with one another. The collective defense of socialist gains is not just an international duty: It is a vital necessity for the socialist world.

Equally vital for the socialist countries is their cooperation in the economic sphere. For three decades the socialist countries' economy has been developing at a stable rate in advance of the growth of the capitalist countries. Between 1950 and 1980 the CEMA countries' aggregate national product increased almost 8 times, while in the developed capitalist countries the increase was 3.8 times. Here are a few more figures illustrative of the dynamics of the socialist countries' economic development: In the CEMA countries industrial production increased more than 12 times over the 30-year period while in the developed capitalist states it increased approximately 4 times. Or take 1980. The picture is as follows: Industrial production in the developed capitalist countries dropped by approximately 1 percent, and by 4 percent in the United States. In the CEMA countries it increased by 3.3 percent.

Clearly, the socialist countries' impressive achievements are rooted both in the advantages of the socialist economic system and in the creative force of their collaboration.

It is by no means our intention," L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "to paint the picture of the modern socialist world in a continuous band of gay colors. There are difficulties in the development of our countries. The transition to intensive economic development and implementation of larger-scale social programs and the molding of a communist consciousness--none of this happens overnight. It takes time and indefatigable creative endeavor.

As an entity the socialist countries possess all the requisite conditions for confident and dynamic development in the years to come. They have a mighty production and scientific-technical potential. Every developed socialist country has enough skilled cadres. The socialist countries have large raw material resources. And, in their endeavor to ensure the 100-percent, so to speak, exploitation of these conditions, the socialist states, apart from bringing more and more national resources into economic circulation, are very much at pains to improve the international socialist division of labor and to pool their efforts in the interest of developing key sectors of material production.

This is the aim of CEMA's activity. This is the purpose of the current long-term targeted cooperation programs on energy, fuel and raw materials, on machine building, on the production of consumer goods and agriculture products and on transport. This is the purpose of the bilateral production specialization and cooperation programs for the period up to 1990.

It should be added that the birth of a large socialist market creates the necessary preconditions for the development of large-scale production on the most up-to-date level. This affects both countries which were industrial in the past and countries which were primarily agrarian.

It is well known, for instance, that in recent years the shipbuilding industry in many capitalist states has been experiencing considerable difficulties in finding a market for output. As a result the production curve has taken a downward turn. At the same time the shipyards in socialist countries, in particular Poland, are able to work to full capacity thanks to large Soviet orders. The picture is similar in other sectors of the economy.

In developing business relations with the capitalist world the socialist countries invariably draw the conclusion, however, that a certain sense of proportion must be retained here. Western credits have never been and cannot be regarded as a manisfestation of some kind of wealthy patronage.

You only have to look at the Western banks' method of operating when, because of the previous leadership's unscrupulous credit policy, Poland found itself in a very difficult position. The Western banks did not exactly rush to help Poland. Moreover they withdrew some of their assets from Polish banks, to the tune of about $500 million, thus further complicating Poland's financial situation. They carry out tough, stubborn bargaining over every single percentage of interest on debts and every repayment term, not infrequently adding political demands to economic demands.

An expressive contrast to this way of acting is provided by the internationalist support given to socialist Poland by the Soviet Union and its other friends. In particular, not only does the Soviet Union strive to fulfill its economic commitments to Poland scrupulously, but it is also supplying it with additional essential products.

Nevertheless, it could be said that this is an extraordinary case. But, first, such cases have happended in the past, and second, even in the most normal conditions the socialist countries' economic relations are invariably based on comradely consideration of each other's interests.

So in the vitally important sphere of the economy, rapprochement, mutual relations and cooperation between socialist countries are an objective requirement dictated by the interests of each socialist country and of the entire socialist community.

The socialist countries have equally organic ties in the ideological sphere. The center of gravity of these ties lies in tremendous creative work to interpret practical experience of socialist and communist building and the elaboration of new means and methods of resolving the tasks which arise. Of course, this major work is combined with the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory. But, I repeat, the center of gravity lies in the elaboration of the correct road to the future.

Weighty evidence that this really is the case is provided by the congresses of ruling communist and workers' parties held in recent years, some of them in 1981. The congresses' materials contain a tremendous wealth of ideas, thoughts and discoveries which will help the socialist countries to scale new heights in their development.

In strengthening ties with each other and striving to further rally the socialist community, the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties are not setting the world of socialism against the rest of the world. In their foreign policy actions they are guided firmly by the principles of equality, respect for all states' sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in their internal affairs. At the same time they strive to ensure that fruitful cooperation develops not tomorrow, but today between states with different social systems and that the historical rivalry between socialism and capitalism does not develop into military rivalry.

And when we assess the socialist countries' experience of development--experience which is complex and difficult in many respects--we have every reason to look to the future confidently and optimistically. The socialist countries have clear peace-loving aims in foreign policy--aims which are defined extremely clearly in the peace program for the eighties put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress. The socialist countries have well-considered, studied plans for further economic development and for improving the working people's well-being. And the socialist countries have a scientific theory--Marxism-Leninism--which helps them to find the correct path toward the peaks of social progress.

MARCHUK ADDRESSES CEMA ON SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES

AU021648 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)--Mr Guriy Marchuk, chairman of the CEMA techno-scientific cooperation committee, emphasized at the 35th CEMA Session that in the years following the adopting of the complex program for socialist economic integration the scale of techno-scientific cooperation among the community countries had considerably grown, engaging in it a great techno-scientific potential. Joint work in the field of computer equipment is yielding great results. There have been developed and transferred in production 12 models of processors--computers with capacity ranging from 3,000 to 1 million operations per second.

According to Mr Marchuk, a telling example of CEMA cooperation are the joint works on the development of power generation, including atomic. The speaker emphasized that great successes have been achieved in the utilization of space equipment for scientific research and solving practical national economy tasks. He gave as an example of a complex solution to big socioeconomic matters the successful fulfilment of the program for techno-scientific cooperation on environment conservation and efficient utilization of natural reserves. More than 2000 research developments have been completed in the process of the fulfillment of the program, of which 750 have been transferred in production.

The speaker noted that techno-scientific cooperation had made it possible to raise the labor efficiency. He pointed out that another step forward had been made in the formation of the planned, economic and organisational and legal basis of the techno-scientific cooperation on multilateral and bilateral basis. On the multilateral side there have been coordinated more than 320 big matters, 150 of which are being solved under respective agreements.

Touching upon the forthcoming tasks, the speaker stressed the need for further concentration of the efforts for solving the problems in the staple branches, where specialization and joint production are carried out. Also the organisation of the cooperation is to be carried out on the basis of the program and target-oriented planning method which is to cover the whole cycle of "science-production-consumption". This is the reason why, Mr Guriy Marchuk said, one should have a differentiated approach to the selection of cooperation matters depending on their scale, importance and terms for realization.

He also dwelt on the necessity for further improvement of the planned, organisational and financial mechanism of the cooperation for establishing direct contacts between cooperating organisations and for new forms of cooperation.

REAGAN DIRECTIVE LIFTS RESTRICTIONS ON ARMS SALES

LD101036 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 10 Jul 81

[TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko report]

[Text] Washington, 10 Jul, TASS--The White House has issued a directive, signed by President Ronald Reagan Wednesday, on the U.S. conventional arms transfer policy, lifting the last restrictions on the sale of American weaponry abroad.

Washington has long regarded arms deliveries to regimes that suit it as an important tool of U.S. foreign policy aimed at preparing aggression against the USSR and other socialist countries, suppressing the national liberation movements and promoting the interests of U.S. imperialism on the international scene. The arms trade was particularly large-scale in the early 1970's when the United States was confidently in the lead as far as the sale of weaponry to foreign customers was concerned. After the dirty Vietnam War, Congress was forced to yield to public pressure and passed a number of amendments (proposed by Clark, Kennedy and others) which placed certain limitations on arms deliveries to foreign countries, especially the repressive, anti-people regimes buttressed by the American bayonet.

The just-issued Reagan directive lifts all restrictions on arms deals. The President declares frankly that the transfer of arms and other defense articles and services is "an essential element" of the United States global policies. Arms transfers, the directive says, will help the United States to increase the effectiveness of its Armed Forces and, in concert with its friends and allies, to project power (i.e. stage a military aggression) in response to "threats" posed by "mutual adversaries".

The President outlined a series of measures to ensure a maximum flow of American arms abroad. In particular, all U.S. Government representatives overseas are expected to give every possible assistance to U.S. military-industrial corporations in promoting their deadly products among foreign customers.

Especially cynical against this background are the President's pronouncements to the effect that the new policy he proclaimed "should not be seen as heralding a period of unrestrained military transfers" and that his administration "retains a genuine interest in arms transfer restraint and remains prepared to consider specific proposals directed toward that end".

The hyprocrisy of these declarations was laid bare at the administration-sponsored closed-door press briefing addressed by a highly-placed State Department official who forbade the reporters to identify him in the press. With a satisfaction that was poorly concealed, he told them that the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of conventional arms had long broken up and emphasized that the White House would demand from Congress the cancellation of legislative obstacles to the build-up of U.S. arms export and would do everything possible to facilitate the expansion of arms deliveries to U.S. "partners".

U.S. RADIOS ACCUSED OF INTERFERING IN POLAND

PM091139 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jun 81 p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Vachnadze article: "Saboteurs of the Air"]

[Text] In the discussions on the new U.S. budget for 1982 a curious admission has crept out--the U.S. General Accounting Office, which is preparing reference materials for the U.S. Congress, said in its report: The CIA's Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (RL/RFE) Stations broadcast false information of a deliberately provocative and subversive nature.

Nonetheless the RL/RFE programs found fervent supporters in the U.S. Congress. The "elected representatives of the people" sitting on Capitol Hill voted without the slightest reservation for a reduction in budget appropriations for assistance to the American unemployed, old-age pensioners and the poor but did not consider it possible to reduce the RL/RFE budget. For fiscal 1982, $98.3 million are allocated to them which is $4 million more than last year.

Why such generosity? (Ch. Eblard), member of the Council of International Radio Broadcasting, which has official control over the RL/RFE system (unofficially it is still controlled by the CIA), noted that the new U.S. administration regards RL and RFE propaganda programs as "vitally important." So we have a sad continuation of the policy of using the international air for ideological sabotage against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

As is known, under Carter the question was raised of the possibility of closer coordination of action between the government radio station VOA, which is part of the Board for International Broadcasting System, and RL/RFE, and also the radio stations of the NATO countries which broadcast to socialist states.

The use of VOA radio broadcasters to send coded instructions to antisocialist forces in Poland in the fall of 1980 may serve as a classic example of this collaboration. At the same time as RFE and VOA were engaged in broadcasting these instructions, RL too was filling the air with provocative reports. Their aim was to direct events in Poland into a counterrevolutionary channel and discredit the practice of real socialism. Since last summer, as (Ch. Eblard) admitted, the volume of radio broadcasts to Poland has increased to 19 hours a day.

The PZPR Central Committee Ideoeducational Work Department organ ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY wrote describing RFE activity last March: In its broadcasts to Poland, RFE does everything to "popularize the model of Western democracy," maintains that the "reason for the existing difficulties is the shortcomings of the socialist system," and does everything to publicize the activity of the various kinds of renegades, with whom this radio station supports the closest ties. By the way, in the United States, from where statements about "noninterference" in the affairs of Poland have repeatedly been heard, this is not being concealed. Thus, at a session of one of the subcommittees of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, (Ch. Eblard) and his aides supplied "first-hand information"--underground publications by antisocialist forces. And RFE builds its broadcasting to Poland on the basis of this "information," together with various kinds of leaflets and manuscripts and illegally printed materials.

This same information, duly processed by CIA employees, is broadcast through the RFE microphones to the other socialist countries in Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, German and Bulgarian and via RL in the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. VOA and also a number of NATO country radio stations refer to this information. In broadcasting to Poland, as Z. Michalowski, head of the RFE "Polish service," admitted in a statement to the U.S. Congress "unofficial" publications, that is, publications of antisocialist forces, are used every day.

And anticommunist program materials of various kinds from emigre publications are broadcast via RL/RFE and VOA.

Recently the CIA services which take care of "dissidents" not only in Poland but also in the other socialist countries have been considerably activated. A turbid stream of slanderous "statements" and "documents" prepared by these renegades cross over to the West. They are used in broadcasting to the USSR and other socialist community countries and also within the United States itself and other NATO states to fan anti-Soviet hysteria. The Western "human rights champions" still give special patronage to individuals who have embarked on the path of open confrontation with the existing system in these countries.

Countless appeals "in defense of" individuals condemned by a Soviet court or the justice organs of the other socialist countries for overtly anticommunist and subversive activity and ties with Western intelligence services are transmitted via VOA, Deutsche Welle, the BBC and other radio stations, not to mention RL/RFE.

These renegades have been used more than once by the CIA to fabricate slanderous materials smearing socialism and for gathering espionage information. Now these CIA-controlled radio stations are creating a "martyrs' crown" for it. For almost 3 years now the saboteurs of the air have been soliciting Soviet people's "support for A. Shcharanskiy, convicted of espionage. Now a broad campaign has begun "in defense" of those people who, on the obvious instructions of Western intelligence centers, have started to "monitor" how the USSR is fulfilling its obligations in accordance with the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

When these "monitors," like Shcharanskiy, have been caught redhanded transferring slanderous materials to CIA emissaries who have come to the USSR in the guise of "tourists" and have been convicted in accordance with existing Soviet laws, the air has immediately been filled with numerous "commentaries" by Western radio stations. Their authors maintain in defiance of the obvious and proven facts that the USSR is "taking reprisals against dissidents."

Specialists in ideological subversion strive to prove to their potential audience that tens of millions of people listen to the RL/RFE programs.

The BBC, for instance, in its 1 April program, made just such an attempt by calling the "dissidents" the "future generation." The only thing which might explain this announcement by the British radio station is that this was an April First joke. But obviously the BBC is bad at humor. Otherwise those who prepared the program on the "future generation" might have remembered what the Moscow correspondent of the British newspaper THE TIMES wrote quite recently--this time about VOA: "It devotes so much time to reports on Soviet dissidents that one could get the impression that a general rising had broken out in the country, which is without doubt untrue. But as a result a certain section of listeners has been alienated." THE TIMES can only be corrected on one point--it is not a "certain" but a considerable section of listeners. Soviet press organs receive dozens of letters every week demanding an end to the provocative activity of Western radio stations.

Those who are counting on successfully changing the existing system in the socialist world and dividing the socialist community using such illegal methods as these are under a dangerous delusion. It would be useful for these gentlemen to remember L.I. Brezhnev's words in his interview with the newspaper LE MONDE:

"The ideological struggle must not develop into 'psychological warfare,' must not be used as a means of interference in the internal affairs of states and peoples or lead to political and military confrontation." This warning is especially topical today.

PONOMAREV SCORES JAPAN'S 'DOUBLE-FACED' POLICY

LD091806 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 9 Jul 81

[TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev: "Japan: Petty Tricks in a Dangerous Game"]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jul, TASS--Japan pursues a double-faced policy in the military field, the newspaper MAINICHI writes today in an article devoted to the problems of defence and the build-up of the country's military capability. And true, the newspaper has enough grounds to give such an unflattering description to the course pursued by the Japanese Government. At a time when the members of the Japanese cabinet in their public statements try to create a semblance that the government resolutely "resists" the pressure from the United States which demands that Japan make more efforts to build up its military capability, Japan's military circles willingly agree to expand and stimulate relations with the Pentagon and the NATO bloc. And this is not a mere wish of the Japanese generals to meet with their Western colleagues at receptions. The case in point is a vigorous attempt to draw Japan into the military plans of Washington and the North Atlantic bloc.

The recent meeting of the head of Japan's National Defence Agency Joji Omura with his Western colleagues are fresh proof of that. During his tour of the United States and Western Europe Joji Omura had meetings with high-ranking U.S. and NATO officials. The head of the Japanese Defence Agency discussed matters pertaining to the further build-up of Japan's military might, as well as the issues of close cooperation between Tokyo and the NATO bloc in the military field. For example, at confidential talks in Brussels, NATO Secretary Joseph Luns offered to supply Japan with information on "security problems" in the framework of the efforts of the sides to "strengthen relations" between Tokyo and NATO in the military field. It will be appropriate to ask what aspect of "European security" interested the head of Japan's Defence Agency, given that Europe and Japan are situated on the opposite sides of the world. The answer was provided at a meeting between Joji Omura and the Minister of Defence of the FRG Hans Apel. According to KYODO TSUSHIN, Omura and Apel reached understanding on the U.S. request to increase already high enough military spendings of the FRG and Japan. It should be noted that Omura assured his West German colleague that the Japanese Government would try to fulfil the programme of strengthening defences in a short time, although there might be financial difficulties.

It is obvious that Japan really pursues a two-tier policy in the military field. The protests of the broad sections of the Japanese public prevent the government from publicly voicing its consent with Washington's demands which boil down to accelerating the growth of military expenditures. However, on the second tier the U.S.-Japanese military cooperation is virtually unlimited. Japan is spending almost one billion dollars a year on the maintenance of U.S. Armed Forces on its territory, while the total figure of Japan's military allocations for 1982 is to go up by 7.5 percent. The Japanese naval forces already now do not object to assuming a share of the functions of the 7th U.S. Fleet operating in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. Imperceptibly, little by little Japan is extending beyond the boundaries of national defence needs the zone around Japan which its air and naval forces patrol. All those and many other petty tricks of official Tokyo come together to produce a big problem fraught with a serious danger to the cause of peace and security in Asia, and to Japan itself. An adventurist course to which Japan's overseas partners are pushing it by far surpasses the boundaries of national needs. And the Japanese people, who in their own time lived through the horrors of a national catastrophe, will have to pay for the consequences of such a course.

VINOGRADOV ON KOREAN UNIFICATION STRUGGLE

PM091551 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jun 81 p 3

[V. Vinogradov article under the rubric "Commentator's Diary": "A Just Cause"]

[Text] A hefty reinforced concrete wall partitions off the Korean Peninsula. Constructed by the Seoul puppets and their American bosses, it is intended, according to their schemes, to perpetuate the division of Korea. More than one such barrier can be erected, but it is impossible to make the Korean people desist from their just struggle for the unification of their homeland, so that no walls should divide their country, which has a single history and culture, into "two Koreas."

The just cause of the Korean people meets with the support of the progressive world public. A graphic expression of this is the month of solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for their homeland's peaceful, independent unification, held annually be decision of the WPC. It begins 25 June, on the day when in 1950 the DPRK was attacked by South Korean and U.S. troops, and it ends 27 July, the day when the aggressors were compelled to sign an armistice in 1953.

The liberation war lasted 3 years. This was a severe trial for the DPRK. But its people and its army inflicted a crushing defeat on the interventionists. Their plans to conquer North Korea and to enslave its population with the aid of military force collapsed. The land of the soviets rendered substantial help to the Korean people in its courageous struggle. The weapons and ammunition and the provisions and medicines were supplied gratis to the DPRK from the Soviet Union.

This international aid did not cease even with the end of the military action. The republic had to heal the wounds inflicted by the war and not only to restore its ravaged economy but also to progress further along the path of socialist building. Relying on the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Korean people were able within the shortest of periods to eradicate the grave consequences of a destructive war. Dozens of major industrial enterprises were restored, constructed and modernized with Soviet assistance. The treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the DPRK and the USSR signed 6 July 1961 raised relations between our countries to an even higher level.

The cherished dream of every honest Korean is to see his homeland united on a peaceful, independent basis, without any external interference. Expressing the aspiration of the popular masses, the DPRK Government has repeatedly made proposals to begin the appropriate talks. It was by its initiative in 1972 that the dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul was begun and the "Joint Declaration of North and South Korea" signed. However, through the fault of the Seoul regime and its patron across the ocean the business of unifying Korea remains deadlocked.

Without any doubt the fundamental obstacle to normalizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula is the continued presence there of American forces. Equipped with the most modern--aside from nuclear--weapons, the almost 40,000 strong U.S. occupation corps is a threat to the entire region.

At the same time Washington encourages in every way possible the militarist ambitions of the Seoul clique. It has taken upon itself the equipping of the 600,000-strong South Korean Army. The scale of the American military "aid" to South Korea is estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars a year. And the Pentagon's plans are to increase it further. Relying on the support from over the ocean, the Seoul regime is suppressing in the most cruel way elementary democratic rights in the country.

The further strengthening of the American-South Korean military alliance and the fueling of tension on the Korean Peninsula patently emphasize the necessity of the struggle for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea which the Korean people are waging for the peaceful, independent unification of the country.

The just cause of the Korean people finds full support in the Soviet Union, and in the course of the month which is beginning Soviet people will again demonstrate their solidarity with them.

ACTIVITIES OF DPRK DELEGATION IN PRIMORSKIY KRAY

SK100800 Moscow in Korean to Korea 0930 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Article from feature program "Soviet Primorskiy"]

[Text] The month of solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for the peaceful and democratic reunification of the nation is being observed in the Soviet Union. Plans to mark this occasion in Primorskiy Kray are various. As the month of solidarity began, representatives of Nakhodka social circles in Primorskiy Kray held a meeting. Members of the DPRK's North Hamgyong provincial party staying in Primorskiy Kray also attended. Comrade Safronov, secretary of the Primorskiy Kraykom, spoke at the meeting. He said: [begin recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] Dear Korean guests, I warmly welcome you to Primorskiy in the name of the workers of the kray. Friendly ties have long been established between the peoples of Primorskiy Kray and North Hamgyong Province. Firm contacts have been maintained between the workers at enterprises in the border areas, between commercial groups and between the functionaries working at trade and public health organizations. For a long time, joint taksk have been shared by the stevedores of Nakodka and Vladivostok harbors and Najin harbor in cargo transportation and handling.

Like all the Soviet people, the workers in Primorskiy Kray understand the Korean people's struggle for the nation's reunification and express their support for this struggle. We support the constructive proposals of the DPRK Government aimed at normalizing the Korean situation and ensuring conditions for the achievement of the nation's peaceful and democratic reunification. [end recording] Concluding his speech, Comrade Safronov wished the Korean friends great successes in the economic, cultural and construction fields and in their struggle for the nation's independent and peaceful reunification.

Comrade Yi Kil-ho, head of the delegation of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party and secretary of the DPRK North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, spoke next. He said: [begin recording] At the kind invitation of the Primorskiy Kraykom, our delegation is on a visit to the fraternal and glorious Soviet Primorskiy Kray at a very important time when friendly cooperative relations are being strengthened and promoted between the parties and peoples of the DPRK and the Soviet Union [end recording] Comrade Yi Kil-ho then spoke about the labor of the Korean people and their struggle for the nation's reunification. He expressed thanks to the people of Primorskiy Kray and all the Soviet people for expressing solidarity and supporting the Korean people's struggle. Concluding his speech, Comrade Yi Kil-ho expressed thanks to the Primorskiy people for warmly welcoming them and wished a long life to the friendship between the peoples of the DPRK and the Soviet Union. He said: [begin recording] Long live the eternal friendship and unity between the two parties and the peoples of the DPRK and the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Participants at the meeting adopted a resolution strongly denouncing the Seoul regime for trying to perpetuate the division of Korea and the policies of the U.S. imperialists, who protect the Seoul regime. They expressed the firm conviction that the Korean people will triumph in their just struggle. Members of the delegation of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party paid visits to other cities and villages in Primorskiy Kray. The kray people warmly welcomed the guests at enterprises and construction sites in Vladivostok, Ussuriysk and Khasanskiy Rayon. The Korean guests visited the members and member organizations of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Soviety in Vladivostok and Ussuriysk. They also toured other cities, historic ruins, famous sightseeing places and residential districts.

PRAVDA REPORTS AFGHAN MILITIA OPERATIONS

PM091518 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 81 p 5

[Special correspondent I. Shchedrov dispatch: "Everyday Life of the People's Militia"]

[Excerpts] Kabul, July--The order was read out to personnel drawn up on the parade ground at Kabul's 1st People's Militia Battalion: For their courage in operations Privates Abdol Baki, Sayyed Isak, Mohammad Hakim and Aga Mohammed were promoted sergeant ahead of schedule.

In the present situation the peoples militia is entrusted not only with maintaining law and order but also with combatting the saboteurs, terrorists and mercenary gangs sent in from abroad, who are active on the highways and are trying to disrupt communications linking the country's main city with the remaining regions.

One day, about 2 weeks ago, the battalion was put on the alert. Only not in Kabul but in the district town of Chaqchi-Vardak, which is 70 km away in the neighboring province of Vardak, which was recently detached from Kabul Province. The battalion was to escort a convoy of over 30 trucks to Kabul with 1 armored personnel carrier. There were a little over 100 people's militiamen. The gangs in the region of the convoy's route not only set ambushes in almost inacessible places but also mined the route. It was later admitted by captured Dushmans that they had been trained in this by U.S. and Chinese instructors in secret camps on Pakistani territory.

In dangerous sections they moved quickly, sending patrols ahead and checking the road thoroughly for mines. The fighting broke out unexpectedly. The Dushmans, who had set an ambush along a 2-km section of the road, were relying on surprise. Some of the trucks in the middle of the convoy and also the only armored personnel carrier were set alight by Dushman missiles at almost pointblank range. The road was closed. The militiamen had to defend themselves in small groups of a few men each. The convoy was stretched out and there were hairpins in the mountain road. It is hard to recreate a full picture of the battle, which ended in victory. But here is how Pvt Abdol Baki acted, as his comrades described it.

At the most critical moment in the fighting, when communications had been lost and the mortarman had been killed, Abdol Baki seized the mortar and managed to get to a suitable position and open retaliatory fire. The minutes saved made it possible for the trucks that were still moving to make a rapid detour through a wheatfield. But the fighting continued. A lot happened during the 4 hours. Though it had lost 4 men and had 13 wounded the detachment secured the road to the capital for the truck convoy, which was carrying freight which the huge city needed.

"Many men showed selfless courage and revolutionary heroism in this operation, which was not a particularly unusual one for us;" police unit Deputy Commander (Yagistan) remarked. "Thus Pvt Mohammed Faiz, in civilian life a doctor's assistant, gave help to the seriously wounded while under fire."

The curfew was drawing near. In Kabul, which stretches out along a valley and on hillsides, the lights were gradually going out. But the battalion was preparing itself for any surprise. There have been all sorts of incidents recently: The power lines and water supply system have been sabotaged, there have been mass poisonings and attacks by smugglers. Recently a large batch of the famous Afghan lazurite ready for shipment and worth 500,000 afghanis was seized in the capital. More than once bandits have had to be driven out of schools which they tried to destroy.

In the afternoon of 21 June, two gasoline bombs were thrown by terrorists from the back entrance into a fourth grade classroom of the (Nasvan Khayrkhan) school in a Kabul suburb and on 22 June another school was set alight in the capital's sixth district.

REPORT ON ALLEGED U S. HAND IN ZIAUR RAHMAN DEATH

PM070801 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 81 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report from the "World Today" feature compiled by V. Mkrtchyan and V. Mikheyev; report carried under the rubric "Backstage of Events": "Could Not Do Without the CIA"]

[Text] Analyzing the circumstances of the recent assassination of Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman, the newspaper (NOTUN) BANGLA concludes that it was part of an extensive plot. Throughout the history of Bangladesh, the newspaper writes, the CIA has woven plots against our country's people. President Mujibur Rahman was a victim of one of these plots in 1975.

The galvanization of the activity of officials of the U.S. Embassy in Dacca points to U.S. involvement in the assassination on 30 May this year of President Ziaur Rahman by those who took part in the abortive coup d'etat, (NOTUN) BANGLA writes. Not long before the putsch headed by Maj Gen Mansur they made trips to the country's strategically important regions and organized meetings with reactionaries opposing Bangladesh's independent development.

WORKER DISSATISFACTION WITH SOLIDARITY REPORTED

LD091934 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Dispatch by Warsaw correspondent Viktor Alenichev]

[Text] After a period of no strikes some parts of the country are again threatened, and again the trade union organization Solidarity has taken the lead. Extremist elements in it, and groups behind them, appear to have made it their goal to plunge the country to its doom, so they can more easily achieve their political ambition. The current election campaign in Solidarity points to this. Some of the delegates of the Mazowsze region to which Warsaw belongs have demanded that Solidarity be turned into a political body. The weekly RZECZYWISTOSC sees in a document prepared for the election a wish to interfere in government and political affairs. The election campaign has also killed the illusion that Solidarity speaks for the workers. Only one-fifth of the delegates in the Masowsze region are workers. The attitude of the workers towards Solidarity is noticeably changing. The workers are beginning to understand where the advisers and experts from the antisocialist Committee for Social Self-Defense are taking Solidarity. One of the men at the Warszawa steel mill, (Mstyslaw Benkowski) told me that he joined Solidarity last September when it first came into being. Like many other workers he hoped it would solve many problems. But then he left it because, as he said, it is under the influence of elements that are openly opposed to the United Workers' Party and the government. These elements, he said, instigate acts intended to disorganize the socialist system. The worker called these acts creeping counterrevolution. He said he believed in the United Workers' Party. He believes it was the only organization capable of drawing up a program that would take the country out of crisis.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA ON SOLIDARITY'S POLITICS

PM081150 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 1 July publishes on page 9 a 900-word New York dispatch by correspondent Anatoliy Manakov under the headline "Pan Walendowski's 'Kitchen.'"

The first part of the article covers the main points of the first part of the referent item and, after citing Walendowski's claims to links with the KSS, goes on to quote him as saying:

"My political line coincides with Solidarity's line, which consists in our enforced recognition, for a certain time, of an alliance with the Soviet Union and the so-called leading role of the Polish communists.

"It will be necessary to establish a new political and social order in the country to stabilize the economy. You must understand one thing: The fact that Solidarity does not state its claims to political power publicly and that some of its leaders are even expressing themselves in support of the party in reality means only one thing--they are realists and are very well aware what can be done at present and what cannot be done. It is stupid to call for the restoration of capitalism simply out of practical considerations."

TRUD CITES CSSR PAPER ON SOLIDARITY'S FAILURES

PM091544 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Jul 81 p 3

["Abridged reprint" of article from Czechoslovak newspaper PRACE under the rubric "Found in the Pages of Fraternal Newspapers": "Counter to the Working People's Interests"--first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] The Czechoslovak trade union newspaper PRACE has published an article about the activity of the Polish trade union association Solidarity: The article is published below in an unabridged version.

...What is Solidarity? A formal reply to this question is as follows: "An independent, self-governing trade union" which arose on the crest of the acute social crisis of the summer of 1980 in Poland and which was registered on 10 November by the Polish court as a constitutional organization.

A trade union which has undertaken to perform exclusively trade union and under no circumstances political functions. "To conduct its activity in accordance with the Polish Constitution and the principle of public ownership of the means of production, which is the economic basis of the socialist system in Poland and to acknowledge the PZPR's leading role and Poland's existing international alliance treaties."

The party and government, the article continues, as a confirmation of their good will, established the new trade union association, although the Polish Constitution did not oblige them to do so.

The circumstances of the Solidarity trade union's emergence caused profound and acute contradictions within it, and a clash between the nature of the trade union and the forces it would serve had to be resolved.

It could have been expected that the energy of the people's masses channeled toward socialist renewal would with Solidarity's aid lead to specific, practical efforts and thus to a considerable improvement in life and working conditions. It was with just such hopes that many workers and members of the working intelligentsia primarily joined the new trade union.

What is the practical result of Solidarity's now sufficiently long term of activity? Have the Polish comrades begun to work and live better? Has labor productivity increased? Has production organization improved? Has Poland advanced in its efforts to find a way out of the extremely serious crisis?

Nothing of the kind. The time since the events in August, which has elapsed under the sign of intensive Solidarity activity, has brought no improvements in the economy or economic management, no improvement in the Polish people's lives, quite the opposite. During this time the Polish economy has been brought to the verge of catastrophe in the full sense of the word. It was necessary to resort to ration cards for meat, butter, sugar, flour, groats and other foods.

The people's living standard in a socialist society, the article continues, depends entirely on the level, quantity and quality of socially useful labor. Is the new trade union aware of its responsibility to the people and society for coordinating the degree of labor and the degree of consumption, the level of demand and the level of potential so that new, even bigger and more complex difficulties do not arise out of the present difficulties? As a rule practice gives the best answer. It states that the extremist section of Solidarity even in the first half of this year directed the trade union's energy toward utterly different goals, which are far from the working people's real requirements and interests.

In the Solidarity leadership and among its functionaries, General Jaruzelski, head of the Polish Government, said, "There are people and groups with immoderate political ambitions." These are the "extremist, dangerous forces" represented especially in the form of the KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee] activists who "feel best in an atmosphere of conflict. It is their element. They are trying, in the vortex of conflict, to strengthen their positions and undermine state power in order then to seize it."

In the 8 turbulent months of Solidarity's existence, flagrant contradictions between its leaders' words and deeds have emerged most clearly.

They began by criticizing voluntarism and instability in Poland's foreign economic relations but then undermined these ties in such a way that Poland has found itself unable to fulfill its economic commitments to its partners.

The extremists from Solidarity began with calls to observe legality, yet in all their activity they are flouting existing Polish laws: They are declaring political strikes, willfully seizing buildings belonging to the state and public organizations and so forth.

The KSS representatives in Solidarity, who began with calls for democratization, are displaying total intolerance toward views which do not accord with KSS' interests and are terrorizing, blackmailing and even threatening with physical annihilation those who dare, for instance, to go to work against the extremists' orders.

The extremist wing of Solidarity is sidestepping the solution of all urgent questions which life is posing: how to achieve the point where work ultimately becomes highly productive so that the Polish people can eat normally and social labor becomes of sufficiently high quality that output becomes more competitive on the world market.

The extremists form Solidarity are attracted by intoxication and excitement and the intensification of counterrevolutionary demonstrations. It is for precisely this that they are being supported by the West and the reactionary organizations like the U.S. labor union federation AFL-CIO, the article notes.

BROADCAST TO POLAND CITES LENIN ON PARTY DUTIES

LD082238 Moscow in Polish to Poland 1800 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow radio commentator, Candidate of Legal Sciences Mikhail Lebedev will now remind listeners of the demands which Vladimir Lenin imposed on Communist Party members. The title of the talk is a phrase from Lenin: "The Wisdom, Honor and Conscience of the Era."

With these words Lenin characterized the Marxist revolutionary party of the Russian working class shortly before the October Revolution. It is the party of communists which reflects the collective wisdom of the working class, the million-strong masses of working people, Lenin believed. The wisdom of tens of millions of creators is something incomparably greater than the most incisive or brilliant forecasts, Lenin stressed. In the policy of the Communist Party at the helm of the state, the collective wisdom of the people combined with Marxist-Leninist theory creates the basis for leading society on behalf of the world of labor in the interests of working masses and with their participation.

According to Lenin's tenets, a worthy service in the interests of the working class of one's people, in the cause of socialism and communism, is for the party a matter of honor and conscience. The words of the CPSU Statute, also embodied in the USSR Constitution, that the CPSU exists for the people and serves the people, for us are not a pretty declaration but the definition of the role of the party in a socialist state, Mikhail Lebedev writes. As a matter of fact, this definition also constitutes the criterion for the assessment of the work of each communist and each party organization.

The CPSU Statute defines the party as the highest form of sociopolitical organization of the working masses. Precisely this is the essential trait of the Marxist-Leninist party, compared with all other social organizations. Such a social organization plays a dual role: It commits its members to participate in social affairs, and it also satisfies their interests and defends them. If one of these two tasks is implemented unsatisfactorily, the attraction of the organizations is weakened and their prestige reduced.

This can happen, for instance, in the case of trade unions if they slacken their attention toward the interests of the mass membership, or, in an equal degree, if their care for the development of the economy and improvement of planning in the interests of the whole of society is reduced.

When it comes to the party, then, as Lenin emphasized, it does not aim at defending or expressing the interests of individual persons or groups. In a socialist system, its task is to take into account the vital interests of the entire people and the classes composing it, directing these interests into one common current.

The leading representatives of the working class, peasants and intelligentsia combine together within the ranks of the party of communists, not to improve their personal standing, but to give their efforts and talents, and if need be also their lives, to the common cause: the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. The achievement of these goals is the most important and the most essential interest of the working class marching at the head of all working people in their fight for the implementation of these lofty ideals.

Lenin considered that party membership should not be a source of facilities, benefits or privileges; on the contrary, it is connected with extra duties and extra responsibility. If we examine the CPSU Statute, we will see that it grants great rights to communists, including passive and active powers concerning the election of party organs, unrestricted discussion at party meetings, conferences and congresses and in the party press of problems of policy and practical activities of the party, submitting proposals, expressing and defending views before the decision adopted by the party organization, the right to criticize from a rostrum every communist, regardless of his position, submitting questions and declarations to each party echelon, including the CPSU Central Committee. All these rights serve the communist for one thing only: to help him carry out better his party duty of active struggle for the party causes. His vanguard role lies in setting an example everywhere for others in work and struggle.

Lenin pointed out strongly that the requirements imposed on the communist, irrespective of whether it is the question of observing moral and legal norms, the principles of communal life or official duties, are everywhere greater than the requirements put on nonparty people. It should be confirmed to all provincial committees, Lenin wrote, that for the least attempt to exert an influence on opinions, in the sense of reducing the responsibility of communists, the Central Committee will expel such members from the party. Stressing the inadmissibility of imposing reduced requirements on communists, Lenin considered at the same time that the party should with all the force of its authority defend the cadres loyal to the cause of revolution and socialism against attempts to slander or denigrate them.

The CPSU Central Committee letter to the PZPR Central Committee expressed the need to overcome the confusion in the ranks of the PZPR, to unfailingly defend its cadres against the attacks of its enemies. If their attempts to denigrate and undermine the organs of public order and the army succeed, it would mean disarming the socialist state and leaving it at the mercy of the class enemy.

Of course, the party as the political leader of society is not fully safeguarded against the infiltration of careerists, opportunists and bribe-takers, who should be categorically removed.

Thus in 1966 the 23d CPSU Congress approved the amendment to the CPSU Statute which says that the party removes from its ranks people who violate the program (?and) the CPSU Statute and who by their behavior compromise the honorable name of communist. There can be no leniency when it comes to the honor and prestige of the party, the purity of its ranks, it was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is precisely such high requirements, Comrade Brezhnev stressed, which assure the monolithic unity of the CPSU, its ability to lead Soviet society.

GREETINGS MESSAGE FROM MOSCOW GORKOM TO WARSAW

LD272152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2018 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] The Moscow Gorkom has sent the Warsaw programmatic and electoral conference a telegram with wishes for a fruitful session. The message stresses the ties of friendship and cooperation which link the peoples of the two capitals, the two parties and countries.

FURTHER ON TIKHONOV'S BULGARIAN VISIT, RETURN

PRAVDA on Talks

PM091400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 81 p 4

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jul--Talks were held today between N.A. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and G. Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

It was noted with great satisfaction that the fraternal friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria are steadily strengthening and developing in the interests of both countries. Emphasis was placed on the special significance of regular meetings and talks between L.I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov, at which the main directions for deepening Soviet-Bulgarian relations are determined and the common positions of the USSR and Bulgaria in the international arena are elaborated.

N.A. Tikhonov and G. Filipov discussed questions of Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation in detail. Special attention was devoted to questions of the practical implementation of the general scheme for specialization and collaboration in the sphere of material production between the USSR and Bulgaria through 1990, which outline the main tasks of long-term Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in leading sectors of the national economy with broad utilization of the latest achievements of science and technical progress.

The sides noted the great significance that they attach to their participation in CEMA activity helping to turn socialist economic integration into a stable factor for the all-round progress of each of the fraternal states individually and the socialist community as a whole.

N.A. Tikhonov and G. Filipov signed a protocol on the results of the talks. The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and full mutual understanding.

N.A. Tikhonov conveyed to G. Filipov an invitation to pay an official friendly visit to the USSR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Participating in the talks were: On the Soviet side--N.K. Baybakov and N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.F. Maltsev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; N.D. Komarov, USSR first deputy foreign trade minister; O.A. Chukanov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; N.N. Inozemtsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and N.P. Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria;

On the Bulgarian side--A. Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; K. Zarev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; Kh. Khristov, minister of foreign trade; T. Chakurov, minister of machine building and electronics industry; M. Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister, and D. Zhulev, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR.

PRAVDA Reports Return

PM091149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] TASS--N.A. Tikhonov returned to Moscow 6 July.

He was met at the airport by A. Ya. Pelshe, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, K.V. Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.K. Antonov, I.I. Bodyul, V.E. Dymshits, L.A. Kostandov, N.V. Martynov, G.I. Marchuk, I.T. Novikov and L.V. Smirnov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR ministers and other officials.

The welcoming party included I. Pashov, Bulgarian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR.

RATNIKOV REVIEWS SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

PM091405 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by A. Ratnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Deep Roots of Friendship"]

[Excerpt] Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Socialist Yugoslavia is developing fruitfully in various spheres. It is based on the commonality of the historical destinies of our socialist states. This cooperation is equal and accords with the fundamental interests of our countries' peoples and the cause of peace and socialism. It is rendered sacred by the profound historical traditions and imperishable memory of their brotherhood in arms and international solidarity in the struggle for peace and the ideas of socialism and communism.

"Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has deep roots and we have no doubts as to its future," the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress noted. And today, the 40th anniversary of the start of the Yugoslav peoples' liberation struggle against the Hitlerite invaders, we recall again the time to which the roots of our friendship go back. "The foundation of the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples," L.I. Brezhnev has stressed, "is cemented by the blood shed in the struggle against the common enemy. This foundation is unshakable. And we are responsible, we are all of us responsible, comrades, for the memory of those who died and for our children and grandchildren. We are responsible for ensuring that the edifice of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation erected on this foundation is bright and lasting and that an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual trust reigns in it."

The enemies of socialism and peace, who obviously do not like the favorable development of relations between the USSR and the SFRY, are resorting to every sort of trick to generate alienation and ill will among our peoples. To attain their perfidious goals reactionary circles are putting into circulation malicious lies and all sorts of falsifications and insinuations about the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. But these attempts will fail: The peoples of Yugoslavia have become well aware on the basis of the experience of history that the Soviet Union is their real and sincere friend.

GROMYKO RECEIVES HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR FOR TALKS

LD091922 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jul TASS--Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received today Matyas Szuros, Hungary's ambassador to the Soviet Union, at his request and had a talk with him, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship. The sides discussed certain aspects of Soviet-Hungarian relations and of the present-day international situation, particularly the problems related to European security and to the proceedings of the Madrid meeting.

FINNISH CENTER PARTY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

PM091031 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 81 p 4

[TASS report: "Guests From Finland"]

[Text] A delegation of party workers and activists from the Finnish Center Party headed by M. Ruokala, member of the party's leadership and chairman of its parliamentary group, was in the Soviet Union 23 June through 3 July at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Finnish guests visited Moscow, Moskovskaya Oblast, the Ukrainian SSR and Krasnodarskiy Kray and toured agricultural and industrial enterprises and cultural and social institutions. They familiarized themselves with the Soviet people's life and their achievements in developing the economy and culture and with the activity of the CPSU party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 26th party congress. The delegation members had talks on questions of interest to them at the CPSU Central Committee International and Agricultural Departments, the Cherkasskiy Ukrainian Obkom and local party and soviet organs. On 23 June the delegation attended the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The delegation members noted that the Center Party assesses highly the peace initiatives put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal "to the world's parliaments and peoples" as a new manifestation of the Soviet state's peace-loving policy aimed at strengthening peace, preserving and intensifying detente and curbing the arms race. They stressed the special significance of the Soviet Union's constructive approach on the issue of creating a nuclear-free zone in north Europe.

The delegation left for home 3 July.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS CHANGES IN FRENCH POLITICAL SCENE

PM091538 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 81 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Krivopalov dispatch: "Parisian Changes"]

[Text] Paris--Paris has returned to its usual rhythm of life after the excitement of the long election struggle, of which we are reminded today only by the scraps of notices and posters with election slogans and portraits of the candidates which remain here and there. People are now talking and writing most of all about changes.

The real changes which have occurred in the top echelons of power undoubtedly determine the new atmosphere in the country, which is different from all previous periods. Despite outward similarities, it does not resemble either the situation created in the thirties after the victory of the Popular Front or the postwar situation. But what is happening in France now is undoubtedly of great significance for the country's destiny.

The National Assembly session opened 2 July. Representatives of the Socialist Party, as is known, have an absolute majority in the new National Assembly. Any proposal submitted by it can be adopted automatically. The chamber's bureau is to be elected and the number and composition of the commissions determined at the current session.

Some 44 deputies represent the French Communist Party [PCF] in the National Assembly. In many ways communists made a determining contribution to F. Mitterrand's election as president of the Republic. Faithful to the agreement concluded with the Socialist Party before the parliamentary elections, they helped many of its candidates win in the second round.

The communists declared during the election struggle that, in the event of the democratic forces' success, they were prepared to participate in the country's leadership at all levels, including at government level. After the end of the second round of the parliamentary elections talks were held between the PCF and the Socialist Party, as a result of which they published a joint statement. On that bas.s, as already reported, four communists joined Pierre Mauroy's cabinet.

The new government's specific program is still to be elaborated. Its immediate tasks, in the widespread opinion of Parisian observers, are determined by the agenda proposed for the first session of parliament, which has on the whole already been fixed.

The legislators in the Bourbon Palace have, above all, to examine a range of budgetary proposals from the government to back up some of the measures it has already announced in the socioeconomic sphere. They have to discuss a program for the decentralization of administrative power and, to a certain extent, management of socioeconomic activity. These are ideas that the socialists have long actively defended. They represent a kind of challenge to the centralized system which took root on French soil back in the times of Napoleon, when all decisions were made in the capital.

The bourgeois parties are finding it hard to regain their composure after the defeat which they suffered, as a result of which the number of their deputies was almost halved. A session of the parliamentary faction of the Rally for the Republic [RPR], headed by J. Chirac, who was one of the candidates for the post of president of the republic, was held recently. It was decided to tackle the party's internal reorganization with a view to strengthening it, and the question of setting up a "shadow cabinet" was raised.

A difficult situation has also taken shape in the Union for French Democracy [UDF], an association which served as former President V. Giscard d'Estaing's chief support. Its leaders are now having to combat centrifugal forces in their ranks and decide what must be done to formulate a common platform capable of serving as a base for mobilizing centrist bourgeois forces.

By forming a temporary bloc in the last parliamentary elections the RPR and the UDF tries somehow to conceal their quite serious differences from the eyes of public opinion. But those differences could not fail to affect the results of the last two election campaigns.

The argument about the reasons for the crushing defeat of the former majority occupies quite a prominent place in the French and foreign press. The most sober commentators point out that under the conditions of the economic crisis--the curtailment of whole sectors of industry, rising inflation (up to 14 percent in 1980), increasing unemployment, which reached approximately 1.8 million, intensified competition on the world market, energy difficulties and manifest "trips" of the economies of West European countries by the new U.S. administration--the French ruling circles were unable to draw the proper conclusions. Most importantly, they did not want to make the slightest concessions to the working masses.

The new French Government has inherited many difficulties. New concerns are being added to them. Over the past month the shares of French companies on the stock exchange have fallen 30 percent. The franc has been subjected to strong attacks. These days official Paris has declared repeatedly that the destabilization of the currencies of West European countries--which is being assisted by the excessive raising of the bank rate on the other side of the ocean--demands some unity of action on their part.

During the election struggle the democratic forces proposed many cardinal measures to surmount the crisis. These questions, French newspapers write, are being discussed today.

There also exist other plans for reforms and reorganization, whose implementation is demanded by the broad masses of the working people and the trade unions, which ensured F. Mitterrand's election to the post of president.

The transformations being planned inside the country, as the new president of the republic has emphasized repeatedly, will not alter the present sociopolitical system, and France will stay loyal to its allies. Against this background Paris is determining the concepts of its diplomacy. A number of consultations have already been held. FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, Japanese Prime Minister Z. Suzuki and Canadian Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau have visited the French capital.

A special response has been elicited in political circles and the press by the visit of U.S. Vice President G. Bush to France and by a U.S. State Department statement. Washington openly expressed its "concern" at the inclusion of communist ministers in the French Government. This inadmissible interference by the American administration in France's internal affairs received a proper rebuff from the president and the French public. Paris has made it clear that the transformations planned in the country will be implemented democratically, proceeding from the will expressed during the general election, and that they concern only the French themselves, who can and must determine their policy themselves.

As regards relations with the Soviet Union, in the message that F. Mitterrand sent L.I. Brezhnev on the 40th anniversary of the start of Nazi aggression against the USSR he expressed "the feelings of emotion with which France, which participated with them in that struggle, recalls the trials experienced and the sacrifices made by the Soviet people in the name of victory over the aggressor." The president also expressed the profound conviction that the Soviet and French peoples will be able to preserve this peace which they achieved at such a high price.

In reply to that message L.I. Brezhnev fully shared the conviction that our countries and the Soviet and French peoples can by their joint efforts make an important contribution to averting the impending military threat and preserving peace. "It is important," L.I. Brezhnev pointed out, "that cooperation between the Soviet Union and France play its beneficial role in the matter of ensuring peace and security in Europe and throughout the world."

U.S. ACCUSED OF 'FRAUDULENT' POLICY ON CYPRUS

NC092054 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1730 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] The intercommunal talks have been resumed at the Ledra Palace Hotel in Nicosia. The Greek Cypriot representatives at the talks is headed by Mr Yeoryios Ioannidhis, while the Turkish Cypriots are represented by Mr Suleyman Onan.

Our commentator says that this meeting satisfies all the sincere friends of the Cypriot people who, in reality, still live in conditions of confrontation. It is evident that this situation is not normal and threatens peace on the island and creates pockets of international tension in the eastern Mediterranean. This is why the quickest peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue responds not only to the most far-reaching, vital interests of the Cypriots themselves but also to the stabilization of the international situation in general.

Our commentator goes on to say that, as it is known, the Cypriot intercommunal talks are being held under the auspices of the United Nations. However, the success of these talks first of all depends on what degree the two sides are ready to demonstrate good will as well as a constructive stand for a mutually acceptable solution of their domestic problems and the preservation of a united, sovereign and territorially integrated fatherland.

Unfortunately, there are many examples of the continued intervention of the imperialist states in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and their aims, in various forms, to impose on the Cypriots their own formulas and recipes for a settlement of the Cyprus situation by deviating from the UN resolutions. Specifically, these countries are primarily responsible for the fact that the UN resolutions on Cyprus have not yet been implemented. There is talk about the ending of the foreign military presence on the island which constitutes a sort of a weapon in the anti-Cypriot policy of the NATO countries. On what basis do they openly disregard Paragraph 5 of UN General Assembly Resolution 3430 which calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and an end to the foreign military presence in the Republic of Cyprus. Paragraph 10 of the same resolution welcomes the proposal for total demilitarization of Cyprus.

Despite these explicit UN resolutions, the foreign presence not only has not been reduced but, on the contrary, has been considerably expanded due to the fraudulent U.S. policy on Cyprus. First, the Pentagon has tried to get into Cyprus, and, second, it drastically contributes in the militarization of Cyprus.

Without exaggeration we can say that the full implementation of the above paragraphs of the UN resolutions would lead to the purging of the general situation in Cyprus and around it. However, by taking into consideration the increasingly greater aggressiveness of U.S. foreign policy together with its demands on the island, it is now of great importance to gather together all the patriotic forces in Cyprus with the aim of drastically repelling the intrigues of the domestic and external enemies.

The inter-Cypriot talks hold the main position in this procedure whose mission is to render life normal on the island. This would open prospects for creating a firm unity and the gathering together of all Cypriots without which it would be difficult to repel the imperialist conspiracies against Cyprus.

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR REACTOR FOR FINLAND--Soviet and Finnish experts have started preparing drawings for a new 1 million kw nuclear power station to be built in Finland. The Soviet Union will supply a reactor to the power station. Two nuclear power stations have been built in Finland with Soviet participation. The operation of these power stations has proved the reliability and safety of Soviet technology. [Text] [Moscow in Finnish to Finland 1530 GMT 8 Jul 81 LD]

SAVCHENKO ON ROLE OF CIA IN TERRORISM IN IRAN

GF091947 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] According to the press, a special office to prepare plans for secret operations against Iran has been established with the participation of representatives from the State Department, CIA, Defense Department and the National Security Council. In connection with this, our commentator Igor Savchenko writes:

Considering this, we can seriously assume that the headquarters for the special widespread war by U.S. imperialism against the Islamic Republic of Iran has been established in Washington. The United States has not officially declared war on Iran, yet the war against the Islamic Republic of Iran continues with widespread dimensions. Relying on the bourgeois circles in Iran that support the West, Washington has resorted to a heavy propaganda war against the Islamic Republic of Iran and is trying to dishonor this young republic in the international social circles, create unrest among various clases in Iranian society and isolate Iran internationally. Washington, relying on these sources, has started a widespread economic war. According to reports by Iranian newspapers, the destruction of high quality consumer goods to create a shortage of such goods, efforts to increase prices and inflation and attempts to create problems for the economy are some of the methods the United States is using in the economic war against Iran.

U.S. imperialism is preparing the ground for military adventures against Iran. It has stationed its large military units along the Iranian border and has formed special aggressive forces from the refugee royalists. It will spend any amount to train them. U.S. imperialism is resorting to large-scale use of terrorist techniques in its fight against Iran. ETELA'AT wrote: The situation in revolutionary Iran shows that terrorism is one of the usual forms of activity by the United States. U.S. imperialism has declared war against the Iranian people--who got rid of the shah and his allies on the other side of the ocean--and is using terrorist tactics in the war. Fires, explosions and murder as well as the creation of an atmosphere of fear and agitation are some of the tactics the U.S. is using in this war. We know that during the past 16 months there have been 48 violent explosions in Iran that have killed tens of people. On 28 June, terrorists whoare connected with the U.S. CIA exploded a bomb in the central headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party and killed 74 people.

Groups of pro-Western terrorists who cooperate with CIA have repeatedly resorted to terrorists operations against Iranian leaders. On 6 July, it became apparent that the governor general of Gilan Province had been killed by terrorists. Yes, even though this is an undeclared war, it has all the characteristcs of a real war. U.S. imperialism carries out this war in Iran and against its people by relying on pro-Western circles in the country.

Mr Behzad Nabavi, spokesman for the Iranian Government, said recently in a press interview that the enemies of the Iranian revolution have increased their terrorist operations and are trying to neutralize the presidential election that is to be held on 24 July. It seems that the strategists in Washington want to create unrest and an explosive atmosphere in the nation and to prepare the ground for lighting the fire of civil war in Iran. The authorities in Washington have though for some time about how they can use such a war to their advantage and have made the necessary decisions.

The New York DAILY NEWS has written: The aim of stationing U.S. forces in the Middle East is to aid the side chosen by the United States in case of a civil war in Iran.

As you can see, in such circumstances Washington's intervention in Iranian affairs takes more dangerous dimensions and forms every moment.

NOVOYE VREMYA ARTICLE VIEWS BANI-SADR OUSTER

FM091437 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 27, 3 Jul 81 pp 12-13

[Yu. Bochkarev article "From the Foreign Press": "Removal of a President"]

[Text] The conflict in Iran between the Islamic Republican Party [IRP], which controls the parliament and government, and President Abdolhasan Bani-Sadr has ended in defeat for the head of state. On 21 June the Majlis (parliament) deemed the president "politically incompetent" by 177 votes out of 190. On the basis of this decision Ayatollah Khomeyni, the leader of the Iranian revolution, removed Bani-Sadr from his post as president.

After the Majlis session which decided Bani-Sadr's political fate, a large group of Majlis members sent a letter to the country's prosecutor demanding examination of the case of the deposed president's "criminal conduct." The prosecutor was not slow to issue a warrant for his arrest. But 5 days before these events the deposed president had disappeared, nobody knew where. The prosecutor's office issued instructions to all law enforcement organs and citizens to detain the fugitive, wherever he might be. Rumors were current that Bani-Sadr had fled now to Turkey, not to Egypt. But the rumors were not confirmed. The Tehran authorities are still assuming that he is in the country.

An event which speeded up the denouement of the conflict was a mass demonstration organized by Bani-Sadr's supporters in Tehran on 20 June. It became a bloody clash between demonstrators and "revolution guards" (that is the name given to armed IRP supporters in Iran. Fourteen of the latter were killed, and it is not known how many of them were among the participants in the demonstration, but it is presumed that there were many more. After the dispersal of the demonstration mass arrests began. Some 400 people were arrested that day in Tehran, and 100 in Tabriz....A judge stated on Tehran television that the courts are working round the clock to examine the cases of those arrested. On the day of Bani-Sadr's removal 15 of his supporters were executed in the capital, and the next day another 8. The arrests and executions continue.

How is the Iranian and other foreign press explaining the essence of the conflict which had such tragic consequences? How and why did it break out?

In January 1980 elections were held for the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which rose from the ruins of the monarchist regime. The election was won by A. Bani-Sadr, who obtained about 75 percent of the vote. His success can be explained by two facts. First, by Bani-Sadr's proximity to Khomeyni: the future president was in Khomeyni's close entourage when Khomeyni was in exile in Paris. Apart from that, Bani-Sadr held the post of minister of the economy in the Bazargan government--the first government after the overthrow of the shah--and had acquired some prestige among the national bourgeoisis. At that time Bani-Sadr enjoyed Khomyeni's confidence, as is indicated by the fact of the president's appointment as commander in chief of the Iranian Army.

The open conflict between parliament and the president began when it came to forming a government. Parliament rejected the candidates for the office of prime minister proposed by Bani-Sadr. Instead, it approved the candidacy of Raja'i, who was nominated by the IRP leadership. After being defeated on the question of the head of government, Bani-Sadr launched a struggle against the candidates for ministerial posts nominated by the prime minister. Because of these disagreements the posts of foreign minister and minister of the economy and trade remained vacant.

With a view to discrediting the president in the eyes of the people's masses, Bani-Sadr's opponents made use of the unsuccessful course of the war against Iraq, and also his stance on the question of the American hostages. "He formed excessively close ties," London's SUNDAY TIMES writes, "with forces opposed to the taking of the hostages at a time when anti-American sentiments were being whipped up in the country."

At the end of December one of the president's colleagues told a correspondent of the American CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: "It cannot go on like this. The power struggle must be resolved in the near future."

In March Khomeyni attempted to reconcile Bani-Sadr with his opponents. He announced his intention of creating a commission to investigate differences between the Islamic Republic's organs of power, incorporating representatives of the warring factions and his own representative. Commenting on this decision by Khomeyni, the Tehran newspaper 'OMMAT noted that the crisis in the country "cannot be settled by the mediation and interference of sages and appeals for unity and calm." The roots of the differences, in the newspaper's opinion, go too deep to be settled by this means.

"The Bani-Sadr problem," Behzad Nabavi, minister of state for executive affairs and Iranian Government spokesman, stated on Tehran Radio, "is not a personal matter, but a deviationist movement which was undermining our revolution from within." The resolution of this problem, the minister went on to say, would be "the greatest internal victory for the revolution," since it would make it "more homogeneous and more durable."

Ayatollah Khomeyni spoke out more clearly on this question in a talk with a group of employees of the journal SHAHID on 23 June--that is, after Bani-Sadr's removal from the presidency: "Some people were trying to remove the stratum of the clergy and replace it with a different stratum...; they wanted to lead people in the American direction." "These champions of 'professionalism,'" the imam went on, "said that we cannot so much as breathe without America and its help. But for 3 years now we have been breathing without it."

Speaking of Bani-Sadr's supporters, Iran's KEYHAN newspaper numbers among them the bourgeois-liberal national front organization (the pro-Western sentiments of a number of its leaders are well known), a Maoist grouping operating under the sign of the party of Iranian working people, and a number of other groups of various political hues. The leftwing Mojahedin-e Khalq organization also came out on Bani-Sadr's side for tactical reasons. To be more specific, Bani-Sadr's chief support came from all kinds of bourgeois, from the petite to the haute bourgeoisie. As observers note, it is characteristic that on all the stalls in the Tehran bazaar, which traditionally plays an important part in the country's political life, portraits of Bani-Sadr were on show for a long time. They only disappeared when he was removed from his post as commander in chief and it clearly became dangerous to express sympathies with him. Yet back in January the Tehran bazaar traders' association demanded the resignation of the Raja'i government because of its "incompetence."

Citing many examples of the pro-Western nature of the policy of Bazargan's provisional government and later of Bani-Sadr's supporters among the haute bourgeoisie, 'OMMAT notes that the liberal front which became established on a united platform was widely utilized by American imperialism and counterrevolution to undermine the republican system in Iran. At the same time the newspaper believes that not all Bani-Sadr's supporters or all critics of the government should be numbered indiscriminately among enemies of the revolution.

It is not easy to penetrate the details of the political situation in Iran, where about 100 political parties, groupings and "currents" of all kinds are in operation. But the London magazine MIDDLE EAST, for instance, draws the conclusion that irreconcilable political currents have crystallized out of the movement which led to the revolution. AFP notes that differences between those currents concern "how to secure respect for the 'Islamic' nature of revolutionary Iran and steer the country into a postrevolutionary period." Islamic circles seek to retain unlimited power in order to implement their plans for building life in Iran on the basis of the Koran's precepts. But pro-Western circles seek to make power in Iran secular in nature, using Islam only as banner. "The conservative clergy," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR noted, "wants to neutralize Bani-Sadr because he has become an important political figure in Iran and could constitute a hindrance in the attack on other opponents of the Islamic fundamentalists in the country." By these "others" the newspaper means leftwing forces.

Prof B. Rubin of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Research writes in the New York TIMES newspaper: "The elimination, with Ayatollah Khomeyni's blessing, of the main opponent gives the IRP the opportunity to strengthen its positions... to establish control over the whole country...."

The situation in Iran is still tense. Not only are various different opponents of the Islamic regime continuing to operate in the provinces. Some of them, in the struggle against the regime, have resorted to terror, causing explosions in public places. They struck the most deeply-felt blow against the IRP with the bomb explosion in party headquarters, as a result of which 69 people were killed, including the party's leader Ayatollah Beheshti, 23 members of parliament, 4 ministers and other prominent figures in the Islamic regime.

PRAVDA CITES IRANIAN PAPER ON U.S. 'PLOTS'

PM091156 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 81 p 5

[TASS report: "Serious Danger"]

[Text] Tehran, 4 Jul--The newspaper 'OMMAT draws attention to the serious danger presented to the Iranian revolution by U.S. imperialism's constant plots.

It would be a mistake to believe, the newpaper writes, that with A. Bani-Sadr's dismissal from the country's presidency the supporters of a pro-U.S. course have suffered definitive defeat.

While gambling on the liberals from the Bazargan provisional government and then on Bani-Sadr's supporters, 'OMMAT points out, U.S. imperialism kept many other cards in reserve. It sees an alternative to the present regime in the counterrevolutionary emigres. Here the United States is sparing no expense to support Iran's numerous enemies.

With U.S. aid, counterrevolution is seeking to secure access to power. U.S. imperialism, through its agents, is resorting in Iran to the stoking of tension and the creation of an explosive situation.

PRAVDA INTERVIEWS NUJOMA ON OAU ASSEMBLY SESSION

PM091411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 81 p 5

[Correspondent V. Volkov dispatch: "Namibia's Righteous Cause Will Triumph"]

[Text] Luanda, 2 Jul--The results of the work of the recently ended session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU countries have shown that the overwhelming majority of OAU member representatives support the Namibian people's just struggle for genuine freedom and independence. S. Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO], said so here in conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent. The chief result of the Nairobi meeting, he said, is the assembly participants' resolute condemnation of the policy of the United States and other Western states aimed at attempting a neocolonial solution to the Namibian problem. In a special resolution the assembly participants condemned the stands of the United States, Britain and other NATO members which have taken the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa under their wing by vetoing in the UN Security Council the resolutions demanding the imposition of all-embracing sanctions against the Pretoria regime. The OAU members also sharply criticized the U.S. administration, which is openly deepening cooperation with the Republic of South Africa and maintains close military, political and commercial ties with it.

The decision adopted by the participants in the Kenyan conference to increase aid to our country's patriots in developing the armed liberation struggle and to set up a special OAU commission on the question of Namibia, which will visit the Western countries which make up the so-called contact group--all this is an undoubted success. The SWAPO leadership attaches special significance to the convening of the special UN General Assembly session scheduled for September this year. It will be the most significant of all the actions so far taken by the international community for the purposes of the struggle for Namibia's genuine independence.

We reject and will continue to reject, S. Nujoma said, any backstage maneuvers pursuing the aim of turning Namibia into a so-called "neutral" or, more accurately puppet state. The attempt by the Republic of South Africa, with U.S. support, to create for Namibia on the eve of the general election a so-called "constitution" which would guarantee the special rights and privileges of the white minority and, more importantly, preserve the inviolability of the investments of the multinational monopolies operating in Namibia is unacceptable to the international community. SWAPO will not accept such a constitution created by foreigners. We also give an assurance that the future sovereign Namibia will grant all guarantees to its citizens regardless of the color of their skin, race, political convictions or origin. We will not grant privileges or guarantees to any individual section of the population, because this would be a manifestation of apartheid, against which we are struggling. The rights of white citizens will be under the protection of the laws of the state equally with the rights of our country's other citizens.

The position of independent African states on the Namibian question, the SWAPO president said in conclusion, and the solidarity of the world's progressive forces, the frontline states on the African Continent, the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries inspire us with new strength in the struggle against the remnants of the hotbeds of colonialism and racism on our continent.

PRAVDA REPORTS ON ETHIOPIAN PARTY PAPER SERTO ADER

PM091621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 81 p 4

[Correspondent A. Serbin dispatch: "SERTO ADER Means 'Working People'"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, Jun--The publication of every issue of this newspaper is always awaited in the provincial committees of the Commission to Organize the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia [COPWE] and in state establishments, in remote peasant associations and in the army units, in the local sections of the Women's Organization and in the capital's kebele. It is called SERTO ADER (WORKING PEOPLE) and it has a special role in the important processes taking place in Ethiopia today--the forming of party ranks, the political education of the masses and the reconstruction of public life. The paper is an organ of the COPWE Central Committee, which now determines the direction of the country's political development.

SERTO ADER began to appear a year ago, and 34 regular and special issues of the newspaper have been published.

"We concentrate our attention on educating the masses and on Marxist-Leninist propaganda," SERTO ADER Chief Editor Shimelis Mazeng says. "Materials devoted to this theme are continually being printed on our theoretical page. At a time when the task has been set of organizing a party of working people in the country, they are of great significance. We tell readers about the experience of the international communist movement, about the 26th CPSU Congress and about the congresses of the fraternal parties of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR and Cuba. In familiarizing the public with these important events we always stress that the Ethiopian revolution is part of the world revolutionary process.

"Of course, the paper throws light on the whole diversity of the country's internal life, in particular the activity of COPWE and the people's mass organizations," Shimelis Mazeng continued. "To broaden ties with the reader, we devote a page to readers' letters in every issue.

"The print run of SERTO ADER is 100,000 copies. So far it appears once every 2 weeks, but in the very near future it will be weekly. The next goal is to publish the paper every day.

"Though the print run of our paper is the largest in the country," Shimelis Mazeng said, "it is still not sufficient. For this reason, the paper is posted on walls, readings of its materials are held and individual articles are even copied by hand and then distributed. In a word, we cannot complain of a lack of interest in SERTO ADER. Eighty-five percent of the print run goes to the provinces. The paper reaches places where the printed word never before penetrated. We still have much to do."

The latest issue of SERTO ADER has just appeared. It is devoted to the anniversary of the First COPWE Congress. The paper sums up what has been done in the country in the year in the sphere of the economy and culture, in the ideological education of the masses, in party building and strengthening the country's defense capability and in the sphere of COPWE's international activity. These results attest that the revolutionary transformation in the country are becoming deeper and broader.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX PATRIARCH'S REMARKS ON WAR THREAT

LD100846 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Press statement by Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jul, TASS--The wounds of the World War II are still alive. The 40th anniversary of the assault of the fascist Germany on our peaceloving country with new strength sharpened in the hearts of all Soviet people the grateful memory of our fellow-countrymen fallen on the fields of the fierce battles, of our innumerable brothers and sisters whose lives' sacred price was paid to win victory and independence of our mother-land and the whole humanity.

Nowadays the death-clouds are thickening again. They are effects of the over-accumulation of the sophisticated weapons of mass destruction in the world, of the criminal propaganda of the permissibility to use the nuclear means of warfare, the perfidious forcing of the political tension which are stimulated by the immoral allegation about the "Soviet military threat." All this presents the danger to the very life on earth, and the active peacemakers should, while it is not too late, to struggle against it and to overcome it. It is to this struggle that the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet "to the parliaments and peoples of the world" calls. This document, permeated with the real love of men, indicates the high degree of the military danger in our days. It declares once again the inviolable principle of the foreign policy of our great power: security of peace. Since, as is justifiably accepted in the appeal, time is pressing.

Bishops, clergymen, the religious and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church, being filled with the deep feeling of patriotism and being aware of the infinite value of the sacred gift of life and the deep significance of the unity of human race, fully support the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and express their firm hope that the parliamentations of all countries of the world would properly appreciate the lofty humanist contents of this document and would do anything in their power in order that the nations of the world are not cast into the all-consuming flame of the nuclear catastrophe.

We fully share Mr Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's call that there could be neither strangers nor indifferent persons in the cause of the implementation of human right to life; this cause concerns all and everyone. We declare that it directly concerns the churches and religious associations which, in virtue of their vocation, cannot stand aside from the struggle for peace. We understand peace first of all as the absence of war, but at the same time we understand it as the sum total of weals for every man, as "the work of righteousness." Such peace is a result of the inner state of man, who lives in harmony with the nature, performing active good deeds and respecting other peoples and nations. Such peace is being built not on the might of weapons, but on the mutual trust. Hence the tasks adherent to the churches in their peacemaking service: to rebuke them that sin and to multiply love in men.

We are deeply satisfied with the wide involvement of the churches and religious associations in many countries of the world into this noble movement. We welcome the plurality of peace initiatives of the religious circles which complement one another and taken together present the great force, which, we believe, combined with the similar efforts of all people of good will, could put an insurmountable barrier to the baneful triumph of the militarism to the impious madness of those who strive to have dominion over the world.

We believe in the success of the people of good will on this blessed path which will be gained through the strength of their spirit, by their continuous, creative and still growing efforts. For the sake of this success we all should be realistic in our understanding of the situation with all the complications of the danger threatening humanity and with clear and optimistic awareness of the ways and means for overcoming it.

Following this line, I believe it would be timely to hold the world conference of leaders and other prominent workers of the world religions and devote it to the problems of the preservation of life from the nuclear destruction. On our part, we shall be glad to render hospitality to this forum.

We have declared time and again that only constant, intensive and purposeful peacemaking work of each of us who is aware of his or her belonging to the great brotherhood of people of good will could bring nearer the longed-for time when, according to the prophet, people "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nations, neither shall they learn war any more."

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES TBILISI SEMINAR-CONFERENCE

LD092120 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] A republican seminar-conference of ideological workers on questions of propaganda and assimilation of documents from the 26th CPSU Congress ended in Tbilisi today. Ways to further improve the quality and efficiency of ideological and political-educational work in light of decisions by the party forum and remarks and recommendations put forward by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev when he took part in celebrations in the capital of Georgia were discussed.

Results of work by the seminar-conference were summed up by Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

CPSU'S GRISHIN ATTENDS MOSCOW HOSPITAL OPENING

LD092104 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The construction of the first stage of a multipurpose clinical hospital for the Likhachev motor vehicle works in Moscow has been completed. It is one of the biggest in the capital. At a meeting in honor of this event today the construction workers presented the medical staff with a symbolic key to the works hospital. The meeting was addressed by Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom.

STRUGGLES OF CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS RECALLED

GF091322 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1630 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Second talk in series entitled: "What the Soviet Government Has Provided for the People of the Central Asian Republics."]

[Text] During our previous talk we dealt with the establishment of the Government of the Soviet Union in the former Russian Empire following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The Government of the Soviet Union immediately announced the total equality of all nations and abolished all previous privileges and restrictions. The possibility of a future free choice was provided for all residents of the country. They chose the socialist way of progress and stayed within the Government of the Soviet Union. Dear and esteemed listeners, in today's program we will describe the struggle of the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kirgiz, Tadzhiks and other people of Soviet Central Asia against the counterrevolutionaries during the first years of the Soviet Union.

The establishment of the world's first proletarian government angered and enraged the imperialist world. The governments of the capitalist countries decided to destroy the Soviet Union so it would not be an example for the rest of the oppressed nations.

The Armed Forces of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan and other countries attacked the Soviet Union. Groups of internal counterrevolutionaries were active with the help of foreign armed forces. The farmers and workers of Russia--the toilers of various nationalities--rose to defend their government that had distributed land among the farmers and had established 8-hour work days in factories. They were defending the new system that had abolished the exploitation of man by man and had made the workers and farmers the owners of their country. They did not want the old system to be reestablished. They joined the ranks of the Red Army when it was founded, and they volunteered to work.

In the beginning, there was not enough food and clothing for the soldiers of the Red Army, and they were not properly trained. Most of them gained their military experience on the battlefield.

Western military experts expected the Red Army to be defeated, and in reality both sides were not equal. In the first stage, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was s[illegible]located by the so-called opposition circles, as the foreign armed interference and the internal counterrevoltuionary forces attacked from all sides. In 1918, the enemies of the Soviet Union cut Central Asia off from the central part of the country. This action aided the activities of the counterrevolutionaries in Khorezm, Bukhara and other cities and villages in Turkestan. The organizers of the counterrevolutionary bandits were former (?feudalists) who were exploiting the religious feelings of the farmers and were spreading false rumors and creating fear among the farmers about the communists. They were creating national hatred against the rest of the people of the Soviet Union.

The U.S. and British armed aggressors and the Chinese reactionaries were backing the counterrevolutionaries. For example, (Bedi), the head of the British diplomatic and military mission to the Soviet Union; (Preswayne), the U.S. consul in Tashkent; and the rest of the high-ranking foreign diplomats participated in organizing the counterrevolutionary bandits. The counterrevolutionaries were trained by British Army officers and officers of the former tsar's army that had chosen armed struggle against the Government of the Soviet Union. The counterrevolutionaries attacked towns and villages and supressed and mercilessly killed the representatives of the Soviet Government, communists, teachers, and the employees of [word indistinct]. They killed anyone who supported the Government of the Soviet Union. For example, the counterrevoltuionaries were killing the families of farmers who had received the land of former feudalists, and they were also looting their cattle and setting their houses on fire. The counterrevolutionaries led by Mohammad Amin Beig were very active in the Fergana region. In 1919, these bandits gained control of (Hosh) and laid siege to (Andijan).

As time passed, the toilers of Central Asia became convinced that the counterrevolutionary bandits using religious slogans and [word indistinct] wanted to restore the system that existed before the revolution. They were confiscating land and feudalist rule was reestablished in the occupied border region. The bandit leaders were also busily plundering the country to become rich. The real aims of the bandit organizers gradually became clear to their followers, because the mercenaries of the annihilated classes were following their personal interests and not ideological interests.

Groups of those who had been deceived joined the Red Army with their weapons and started to struggle and fight against the plundering counterrevolutionary bandits. At the same time, the counterrevolutionary bandits attacking the villages were facing strong and active resistance from local residents.

In the autumn of 1919, the Red Army crushed the strong counterrevolutionary forces led by Admiral (Kachov)--which were attacking the central region of the Soviet Union from the east--and restored contact between the central region and Central Asia. This was the beginning of the Red Army's strongest attack against the counterrevolutionaries.

In 1920, Fergana was completely cleansed of counterrevolutionaries. Thousands of local farmers were fighting shoulder to shoulder with Red Army against the counterrevolutionaries, but the process of crushing the enemies of the Soviet Union was not an easy task. For a long time, the bandits of Anwar Pasha were active in Bukhara. The 4,000 members of Beig's bandit group were busy plundering, and in Khorezm the criminal groups were fighting against the Government of the Soviet Union. However, the anti-Soviet forces backed by international imperialism were eventually crushed.

In the autumn of 1922, the war against the internal counterrevolutionary forces and foreign aggressors ended with the total victory of the toilers, who with their struggle had defended the Soviet Union. As far as the foreign military experts were concerned, this victory was a miracle. In reality, there was no miracle, because the rightfulness of the people had doubled their forces. The workers and farmers were struggling and fighting for the right cause and the just system of the Soviet Union. Crushing the plundering bandits of the counterrevolutionaries in Central Asia, (?justified) the total victory.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON CENTRAL ASIA BORDER INCIDENT

PM091514 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jun 81 p 4

[Snr Lt G. Khromin report: "Skirmish in the Gorge" under the rubric "In the Red-Banner Central Asian Border District"]

[Text] From the direction of the mountains came the cry of a disturbed bird. "Probably a jackal frightened it," Pvt S. Mordzov thought, and then gave the halt signal. This is Sergey's second year serving at the border post, and he knows that the border does not forgive blunders.

The senior officer of the detail could not see his colleagues, but was vividly aware of them crouched behind rocks listening intently to the sounds of the night. Soon the scarcely audible crunching of road metal reached their ears. Animal or man? At the prescribed signal the senior officer in the border detail sent Private Pereverzev to cut off the retreat of the unknown person moving from the line of the border, while he himself with Pvt V. Moskalenko decided to advance toward the gorge.

The nearer the servicemen came to the place where they expected to meet the violator, the stronger became the senior officer's certainty that somehody had penetrated the sector. With extreme caution he advanced along the gorge, stopping now and then, obviously to listen.

The calculation proved correct. And when from round the bend there appeared a silhouette, scarcely distinguishable in the darkness, the Border Guard's order rang out softly but firmly:

"Stop! Hands up!"

The violator's leg, raised for the next step forward, froze in the air. The next second, with a desperate leap he tried to hide behind a rock. But Private Moskalenko overtook him: With an accurate blow the serviceman knocked the unknown man off his feet and trained his submachinegun on him. Soon the senior officer was reporting the detention of the USSR state border violator to Lt V. Sinitsin.

The detail only returned to the frontier post around morning.

SOVIET DISSIDENT ALLEGES SUBJECTION TO DRUGS

NC062245 Paris AFP in English 2051 GMT 6 Jul 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 6 Jul (AFP)--Soviet political dissidents are subjected in psychiatric clinics to treatment with a French drug called stelazin that affects the nervous system, a Soviet dissident said here today.

Yevgeny Nikolayev, now living in the West, told a press conference organised by the Danish Sakharov committee that the Russians import stelazin from India, where it is manufactured under licence.

Mr Nikolayev, who represents the independent Soviet trade union SMOT, said that drugs manufactured in Britain, Hungary, Poland, the United States and Yugoslavia are also used on Soviet dissidents.

"I myself underwent stelazin treatment by injections that affected my muscles and my eyes and made me twist my neck from side to side," Mr Nikolayev said, adding that after three days of the treatment his hands began shaking.

He said he had several times been taken by force to psychiatric chinics, but thanks to intervention by British psychiatrists had finally been allowed to leave the Soviet Union in 1980 with his wife.

BRIEFS

AWARD TO KAPITSA--The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has awarded the order of the Labor Red Banner to Andrey Petrovich Kapitsa, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for his services in the development of geographical science and in connection with his 50th birthday. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Jul 81 LD]

GOSPLAN WEST SIBERIAN OILFIELD CHIEF INTERVIEWED

PM091600 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Jun 81 p 1

[Correspondent Yu. Belanov interview with V. Kuramin, chairman of the USSR Gosplan Interdepartmental Territorial Commission on questions of the development of the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex: "Interdepartmental Territorial"]

[Text] Tyumen--For the first time in the USSR Gosplan's entire history one of its subdivisions has been set up thousands of kilometers from Moscow--on the fifth floor of the house of soviets in the city of Tyumen. It is the USSR Gosplan Interdepartmental Territorial Commission on questions of the development of the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex. The 26th CPSU Congress talked about setting it up.

Yu. Belanov, our correspondent in Tyumenskaya Oblast, met with V. Kuramin, chairman of the commission, and asked him to talk about its aims and tasks.

[Question] Vladimir Petrovich, the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex--the flagship of the country's fuel and energy industry--has, figuratively speaking, acquired its "captain's bridge." How is the region's economy seen from there?

[Answer] First, let us define, if only in general outline, what the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex is like today. The USSR Gosplan recently drew up a document which makes it possible to give a clear-cut definition of it. Territorially the complex embraces Tyumenskaya and Tomskaya Oblasts. Some 2.8 million people live here. And in 1985 they are faced with increasing extraction of oil and gas consensate to 385-395 million tons, and of natural gas to 330-370 billion cubic meters. In order to attain these oil and gas production targets, which are unprecedented in world practice, it is necessary to commission hundreds of new production capacities. These include the unique gas-processing installations at Urengoy and Yamburg, Tobolsk petrochemical combine and the Surgut GRES. Add to this the sharply increased scale of construction of roads, housing and social cultural and consumer projects and the strengthening of the construction industry's base. Some 26 ministries and departments are today involved in construction work associated with West Siberia's oil and gas reserves. In order to ensure their harmonious work we really need a "captian's bridge," as you put it, equipped with all modern means of economic management.

[Question] What, then, is the Interdepartmental Commission like organizationally and structurally?

[Answer] There are 31 people in our commission: directors of large production associations and scientific research sectorial institutes, main administration chiefs, party and soviet leaders of Tyumenskaya and Tomskaya Oblasts and executives of the USSR and RSFSR Gosplans. A working apparatus of the commission, consisting of four subsections for the planning of the oil and gas industry (leading), power generation, capital construction and the social infrastructure, has been set up to carry out the preliminary examination of incoming materials and the drafting of plans, proposals and conclusions on the most important problems of the oil and gas complex.

[Question] Judging by the functional nature of the subsections of the working apparatus, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the commission's chief task is precisely planning and influence, through the plan, on resolving the problems facing the West Siberian complex.

[Answer] Quite right. To compile long-term programs and draft 5-year and annual plans for the development of the complex, to monitor their realization and also to prepare proposals for the balanced development of the sectors making up this complex--these are our chief tasks. Experience shows that competent, carefully regulated planning makes it possible to prevent up to 90 percent of all kinds of discrepancies and lack of coordination among the numerous departments and ministries.

[Question] But only an economic organ that possesses definite administrative power can monitor and, moreover, actively influence the production activity of the region's leading subdivisions. With what rights is the commission endowed?

[Answer] Considerable rights. We have the right to convene conferences, to hear reports from leaders of enterprises and organizations and to involve them in resolving the most important problems of the oil and gas complex. The commission submits all its proposals and recommendations on questions of developing the complex to the USSR Gosplan--an organ endowed with directive rights and powers. And it will not accept a single plan document on the complex without our commission's conclusion. Incidentally, the statute on our commission recently approved at the USSR Gosplan will be improved in the future precisely from positions of defining the commission's functions more precisely and strengthening its role in resolving questions of the planned development and management of the country's chief fuel region.

[Question] What problems is the Interdepartmental Commission resolving now?

[Answer] Gas industry workers entertain doubts about the levels of oil extraction in the Urengoy field. The point is that there is also oil in this unique gas deposit. It has been decided to extract more than 2 million tons of oil in the 11th 5-Year Plan. But gas workers believe that this is hardly feasible. And now the USSR Gosplan has entrusted us with getting promptly to the bottom of this problem of considerable importance to the national economy. We are also preparing for the commission's first session, and these will be held monthly. We are placing on the agenda fundamental questions of providing the oil and gas-producing regions of Tyumenskaya Oblast with electricity.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPROVES LVOV RAIL FREIGHT WORK

PM091504 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 81 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Work Experience of Railroad Transportation and Industry Enterprise Collectives in Lvovskaya Oblast in the Efficient Utilization of Freightcars."

The resolution notes that the railroad transportation and industrial enterprise collective in Lvovskaya Oblast under the leadership of the oblast party organization have elaborated and introduced a system of measures for the efficient utilization of freightcars. This system envisages the use of advanced loading and unloading methods in all railroad subunits and industrial enterprises, the implementation of measures for the development and maintenance in good technical repair of siding and transport installations, ensuring full utilization of the load capacities of freightcars and strict observance of the requirements for their maintenance and cleanliness. Great significance is attached to improving economic ties between railroad stations and industrial enterprises, built on the basis of mutual pledges and responsibility for the efficient utilization of the freightcar pool. Day-to-day information about the supply and maintenance of freightcars is being strictly organized, which promotes a reduction in idle time.

Progressive norms are being established for enterprises to convert freightcars into "freightcar-hours." Using this as the main indicator enables the state of affairs and the scale of savings and losses to be more accurately appraised. Incentives have been introduced for enterprises to overfulfill the norms by means of preferential supply to them of rolling stock for loading produce. The effective use of the current operating situation with regard to material incentives for transport shop and railroad station workers for the best utilization of freightcars has been improved.

The conditions for oblast competition among enterprises, rayons and cities for saving "freightcar-hours" have been elaborated and introduced. There is regular training for workers and employees in advanced work methods.

The 5 years of work experience gained by the railroad transport and industrial enterprise collectives of Lvovskaya Oblast with the new system has proved its effectiveness. The mutual interest and responsibility of freight dispatchers, freight receivers and railroad workers for the improved utilization of rolling stock has increased and their cooperation has strengthened. In 1980 in comparison with 1978 losses of loading resources in enterprise sidings were almost halved, the static load per freightcar was considerably increased and the rate of increase in scheduled routings of transport operations for this period more than tripled compared with the average. Much work was done to develop railroad stations, sidings and transportation shops.

The CPSU Central Committee approved the experience of railroad transportation and industrial enterprise collectives in Lvovskaya Oblast in the efficient utilization of freightcars, based on the use of progressive technological process for dealing with rolling stock, fuller utilization of freightcars' load capacity, the development of the traffic capacities of sidlings and effective monitoring to ensure smooth fulfillment of freight operations.

The Ministry of Railways jointly with interested ministeries and departments is instructed to adopt the necessary measures for disseminating in the network of railroads the experience of the Lvovskaya Oblast enterprises in the effective utilization of rolling stock and to elaborate and ratify methodological instructions for the use of this experience.

The Ministry of Railways with the participation of the appropriate ministries is recommended to hold conference seminars in the second half of 1981 by railroad groups to study the work experience of enterprise and organization collectives in Lvovskaya Oblast in improving freightcar utilization.

It is proposed that union republic CP Central Committees, kraykoms and obkoms mount organizational and political work to disseminate the aforementioned experience, direct the efforts of enterprise and organization party committees toward the steady fulfillment of the 26th CPSU Congress instructions on reducing transportation costs and to encourage the work of party organization commissions in monitoring administration activity in improving the utilization of transport facilities.

The editorial boards of the newspapers PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, GUDOK and VODNY TRANSPORT and of republican, kray and oblast newspapers are instructed to throw more light on the work experience of leading enterprise and organization collectives in reducing transportation costs in the national economy and improving rolling stock utilization.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPROVES CONSUMER GOODS IDEA

PM100949 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 81 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On the Initiative of the Collectives of Leading Enterprises and Associations of Moscow and of Sverdlovskaya Oblast on Increasing the Production of Consumer Goods."

With the aim of ensuring the practical implementation of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions on the steady raising of the people's material and cultural living standards, the collectives of the leading enterprises and associations of Moscow and Sverdlovskaya Oblast have put forward an initiative on considerably increasing the production, expanding the range and improving the quality of consumer goods in the current 5-year plan.

The party and soviet organs of Moscow and Sverdlovskaya Oblast have supported the production collectives' undertakings on this important social issue and, with the wide-scale enlistment of scientific research, planning and other organizations, have formulated comprehensive programs for the production of consumer goods.

The measures outlined envisage organizing the output of consumer articles at the overwhelming majority of industrial enterprises and associations. Paramount significance is attached to improving the quality of goods, to opening up the production of new, including technically complex types and to considerably expanding the output of items in great demand. The implementation of these programs will be ensured in the main by the modernization and specialization of existing enterprises and shops, by introducing progressive production processes and by more rational use of raw materials, including local materials, and also of industrial waste products.

The CPSU Central Committee approved the initiative of the collectives of the leading enterprises and associations of Moscow and Sverdolvskaya Oblast on increasing the production, expanding the range and improving the quality of consumer goods in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The Central Committee of union republic Communist Parties, kraykoms and obkoms, union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms, ministries and departments are instructed to disseminate this valuable initiative on a wide scale, to formulate appropriate measures and launch socialist competition within labor collectives to increase the production, expand the range and improve the quality of consumer goods on the basis of further enhancing production efficiency and fuller mobilization of the existing reserves and potential of enterprises and associations, including those in heavy industry sectors. Particular attention is to be paid to supplying the population with household goods.

It is suggested that the editorial boards of central and local newspapers, radio and television cover thoroughly day by day the course of socialist competition for increasing the production, expanding the range and improving the quality of consumer goods and the experience of the best utilization of the internal reserves of enterprises and associations with these aims in mind.

GRISHIN ATTENDS MOSCOW CONSTRUCTION CONFERENCE

PM100950 [Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 30 June front-pages a 600-word unattributed report entitled "accelerating the pace of the construction flow-line" on a 29 June conference at the Moscow Gorkom on the "preliminary results of fulfilling the half-year program for capital construction" and the "measures for successfully fulfilling the plan for the year." The report notes that "Moscow Gorkom First Secretary V.V. Grishin addressed the conference."

BRIEFS

OIL IN GEORGIA--Moscow, 25 Jun, TASS--The high-grade oil gushing from wells drilled up to 3,000 m deep in the Sagaredzhoyskiy Rayon of Georgia proves that the republic has quite a lot of this valuable commodity, writes MOSCOW NEWS INFORMATION. Oil prospecting in Georgia has been in progress for nearly half a century--the region has a complex geological structure and oil-bearing layers lie deep underground. However, the results are full of promise, and derricks have been erected in Kakhetiya and Kolkhida. As commercial production has got under way, over 20 derricks have been built in the past five years. Now local deposits meet 60 per cent of the republic's requirement in light oil products, and this figure is scheduled to rise to 75 per cent by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985). Georgian oilmen make use of the experience of their colleagues in Adzhanskaya, Checheno-Ingushskaya and Tatarskaya ASSR's. The introduction of comprehensive automated extraction has improved production methods and has practically eliminated environmental pollution. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 25 Jun 81 LD]

SOLOMENTSEV ATTENDS RSFSR AGRICULTURE DISCUSSION

LD091620 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jul 81

[Text] A session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers which opened today is discussing problems of increasing the production and improving the quality of coarse and succulent fodder and the economic utilization of grain for fodder purposes.

The rapporteur, Yermin, first deputy chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers, noted that in the solution of cardinal questions of the development of animal farming the biggest possible increase in the production of fodder takes pride of place. Over the past few years a great deal has been done to increase the yields of fodder crops, and the volume of fodder procurement.

However, the results achieved still do not satisfy the increased needs of this branch. Now, during the harvest, administrative and agricultural bodies are called upon to establish strict control over the implementation of targets in the procurement of fodder, to promote the development of effective competition for the creation of a reliable supply of forage, for increasing the production of animal farming produce in the current year and in the 5-year plan as a whole.

The session is being attended by Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Karlov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department and others.

KAZAKH HAY PROCUREMENT PROGRESS REPORTED

PM091340 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 81 p 1

[KAZTAG "Weekly Review": "Making Use of All Reserves for Fodder Procurement"]

[Excerpt] Taking advantage of the favorable weather conditions, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are building up the fodder procurement rate. On 29 June grass for hay and cured hay had been cut from 7,639,000 hectares--27 percent of the plan. Some 3,371,000 tons of hay--22 percent of the plan--and 1,486 tons of cured hay--59 percent of the plan--had been procured by the same date.

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Daily Report

SOVIET UNION

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FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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FALIN ON MILITARY ISSUES, EAST-WEST RELATIONS

DW091235 Hamburg STERN in German 9 Jul 81 pp 58-62--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Editors Norbert Kuchinke and Heiner Bremer interview with Valentin Falin, first deputy chief of the International Information Department at the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow--date not given]

[Text] STERN: In the East and the West the arms race is being accelerated again, above all, in the field of medium-range missiles. Disarmament talks, however, have almost disappeared from view. Why doesn't the Soviet Union set a signal indicating its preparedness to negotiate by discontinuing the further deployment of its SS-20 missiles?

Falin: I must contradict you. The East does not spur the arms race. We only react to what is done in the West. If it were up to us, negotiations would have absolute priority. We have repeatedly invited the Americans to hold such negotiations, regrettably without much success...

STERN: ...The United States has said that negotiations could begin by the end of the year. Willy Brandt said in his talks with party General Secretary Brezhnev that the Americans were serious. Wasn't the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] chairman able to convince him?

Falin: As always, the statements by Willy Brandt have been taken notice of with great seriousness and respect. He is a serious politician whom he would very much like to believe. But unfortunately Washington makes differing statements. Sometimes they say that disarmament negotiations could be resumed by the end of the year; sometimes they say that the United States needs to have at least 9 months to prepare for the SALT talks. But since negotiations on the reduction of medium-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles are substantially connected, it is hard to see what the American intentions will be in the final analysis.

STERN: You are very distrustful. NATO's dual decision which stipulates negotiations is also binding for the United States...

Falin: ...But the decision establishes no deadlines for either the beginning or the time span. I believe the present government in Washington, supported in influential sections of American society, first wants to make the United States the number one world power and only then talk to us from a position of strength.

STERN: But the Americans have spread the news that there have been negotiations on medium-range weapons in Washington between Secretary of State Haig and your ambassador to the United States, Dobrynin, as well as between experts from both sides.

Falin: Such words are intended for the allies. In reality there were only initial contacts during which they discussed when Secretary of State Haig and Foreign Minister Gromyko could meet in the spring. Those who argue like the Americans could easily term every telephone conversation between two politicians a negotiation.

STERN: What annoys you more, the stagnation of the SALT talks or the delay in the negotiations on medium-range weapons?

Falin: What is more important is the overall political concept of the United States. According to this concept, the United States wants to decide alone when, how and on what subject it will discuss with us, obviously with the conviction that we have to obey. Its philosophy is that the Soviet Union is not an equal partner but an annoying competitor and adversary...

STERN: ...But with competitors, too, negotiations must be conducted and treaties concluded...

Falin: ...The Americans seem to hold a different view. When we suggest that we jointly resolve crisis situations in the world, in the Persian Gulf, for instance, or in the Middle East, they turn us down. They want to solve the problems alone and in most cases even to the disadvantage of the Soviet Union. They behave today as if they were already the undisputed world power. This hegemonic claim does not really create a good climate for talks.

STERN: The United States has promised it will supply arms to China. Does this complicate the negotiations between the two big powers?

Falin: If this pledge is honored, our bilateral relations will be seriously burdened. But I repeat: We are still prepared to hold negotiations.

STERN: This was not always the case. Following NATO's dual decision of December 1979, Moscow refused to negotiate.

Falin: You are the victim of an optical illusion. As early as in the early seventies, we wanted to talk about the medium-range weapons, but the Americans said they were not interested in this subject. This was repeated in the SALT II negotiations. In addition, there was our proposal of October 1979, among others. It was only then that the NATO decision was made, and we were faced with an absolutely new situation. Instead of a positive response to our negotiation offers, the reaction was the plan to deploy completely new missiles in West Europe. This caused us to react toughly and logically. However, during Chancellor's Schmidt's visit to Moscow in the summer of 1980, the Soviet side formulated new ideas aimed at leading the matter out of the deadlock.

STERN: Brezhnev told Willy Brandt now that the Soviet Union is prepared to stop further deployment of SS-20 missiles when negotiations on the dismantling of medium-range weapons begin if the United States does not increase its medium-range weapons in Europe during the talks. Does this suggestion mean that preliminary construction measures as well as the development and production of the new Western missiles will be prohibited, or is only the deployment of missiles to be suspended on both sides during negotiations?

Falin: The word of the general secretary is valid. We will stop the deployment of further SS-20 missiles if real negotiations begin, and if the United States follows the good example and introduces no medium-range weapons into West Europe during this period. We have not demanded that the development of production of new arms be stopped, because we have defense problems not only in the West, but also in the East. Haig's visit to Beijing has again made this very plain.

STERN: The Soviet Union sharply criticizes the armament efforts of the United States, but the question must be raised whether the Soviet Union has not prompted with its own increased arms, particularly the medium-range missiles, the United States to counterarm.

Falin: In giving you an answer I can quote General Jones, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. He pointed out in a report to the U.S. Congress that everything the Soviet Union had done regarding arms policy in the seventies was an attempt to get from a militarily inferior position to one of military balance with the United States. Jones suggested that American superiority which has been declining should be reestablished.

STERN: In the meantime, however, the Soviet Union has supremacy in the field of medium-range missiles.

Falin: In discussing the arms potential of both sides, one cannot deal separately with individual systems. If we consider just one system, the whole picture would be distorted. The Soviet Union and the West, including the United States, France and England, have at present about 1,000 nuclear weapons launchers in Europe. The number of warheads, however, is 50 percent higher on the Western side than on the Soviet side. Parity exists with regard to the launcher systems, but a considerable Western superiority exists regarding warheads.

STERN: That is what you say. Other figures are cited in the West.

Falin: Nobody can doubt the figures I have given. But we must not get stuck with statistics. Much more important is the function of medium-range missiles in our country and in the West. Our missiles cannot and are not intended to destroy such strategic targets as intercontinental missile silos and command centers in the United States. However, the 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles to be deployed in NATO states, because of their long range and high accuracy, could very well destroy the bunkers of Soviet intercontinental missiles and other strategic targets. They are almost preordained for that purpose. That would be a decisive change in the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States.

STERN: The Pershing II can destroy targets in the Western part of the Soviet Union, but not on the other side of the Urals, where intercontinental missiles are also stationed.

Falin: The Pershing II can reach areas where some of our intercontinental missiles are deployed, there is no quibbling about that. And that is not on the other side of the Urals.

STERN: You maintain that the SS-20 is just a modernization of the antiquated SS-2 and SS-5 missiles. With the Pershing II and the cruise missiles, NATO also just wants to bring antiquated arms systems up to newest standards.

Falin: In contrast to its predecessors, the Pershing II has other tasks. Because of its long range and accuracy in hitting within 20-30 meters of the target, it is a completely new arms systems giving us a clear disadvantage. Nothing now exists to match the cruise missiles.

STERN: You expect us to show understanding for the fears of the Soviet Union regarding the Pershing II, while Moscow's understanding for the fear of the West Europeans of the SS-20 does not seem to be very great.

Falin: We understand your fears and worries very well. The SS-20 was not developed to shoot sparrows; it is our answer to the military potential in Western Europe which represents a danger for the Soviet Union. The fewer American missiles and other weapons deployed in the West and aimed at the Soviet Union and its partners, the smaller the number of SS-20 missiles will be.

STERN: So the SS-20 and the Pershing II can be compared after all. Both missiles are supposed to immediately destroy important military targets in case of war.

Falin: That is not so. You ignore the fact that the Pershing II can reach Soviet territory, while the SS-20 cannot reach American territory. The United States could destroy our intercontinental missiles. That increases the danger of war. The Soviet Union must see how this increased danger can be averted and how to offset the advantage the United States would achieve with new missiles. It is clear that otherwise the arms race will achieve even greater dimensions.

STERN: A discussion is taking place in the Federal Republic as to whether the new missiles should be based at sea rather than on land. Would that change the threat to the Soviet Union?

Falin: The danger is the same for the Soviet Union, regardless whether the missiles comes from the sea or from land. Instead of racking our brains on such issues, it would be better if we gave some thought to the renunciation of new missiles on both sides and the dismantling of old arms.

STERN: How would the Soviet Union react if the Pershing II and cruise missiles were deployed after all? Maybe by producing modern medium-range missiles of the SS-23 or SS-25 types, which could destroy the Pershing II launching pads?

Falin: We will react most seriously, and I can guarantee that our answer will not increase the feeling of security in the West...

STERN: ...And heat up the arms race even more.

Falin: We do not want to embark on this path, but a situation can come about when we will be forced to.

STERN: Could deployment of the SS-20 on Cuba be part of the Soviet Union's reaction?

Falin: I do not want to involve the Cuban issue in our talk. That is not necessary at all. There are technical ways to bring medium-range missiles close to the United States without involving the territory of a bordering or nearby country....

STERN: ...Are you considering stationing missiles on aircraft...

Falin: Technology offers many possibilities.

STERN: In recent weeks the Soviet press has repeatedly attacked Federal Chancellor Schmidt, charging that he has totally submitted to Washington. Do you really think the Federal Republic can afford to embark on a course in opposition to its most important alliance partner?

Falin: Our press attacks no one. It informs about and comments on facts. We have no intention of interfering in the Federal Republic's relations with the United States. Nor do we want to dictate to anyone what he should or should not do. However, when we point to the fact that the West Europeans are being increasingly infected by the negative attitude of the United States, we do this out of our understandable concern for a better military-political situation in Europe, and we say this frankly.

STERN: But your concern does not justify the criticism by Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov to the effect that under Washington's pressure the Federal Republic is intensifying its "military preparations."

Falin: When the Federal Republic states that it backs the policy of the new U.S. Government, we naturally ask ourselves how somebody can approve of the U.S. policy, which has been basically changed by Reagan, without revising his own policy as well. The policy pursued by the Federal Republic previously was its readiness to further detente and to develop good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. Is the Federal Government still pursuing these goals or does it want something else?

STERN: Do you mean the Federal Republic is threatened with being increasingly dragged into the wake of the steadily worsening relationship between Washington and Moscow?

Falin: The Soviet Union does not jeopardize whatever successes were achieved in the past years. The West Germans profited most by detente. Therefore, they also have the most to lose today.

STERN: In the light of the adverse climate between the Soviet Union and the United States, is it conceivable for Moscow to say that since it is impossible anyway at present to hold promising talks with the West, we do not have to show regard any more and can ensure law and order in our own sphere of power, particularly in Poland?

Falin: We are not fatalists and therefore don't believe that those people in the West who are running the show today will in the long run have lasting influence. There have been ups and downs before in our mutual relations. Therefore, we remain relatively optimistic and do not simply say that we aren't getting anywhere with the West. We want to continue the policy of detente, but we will also defend our interests and support our friends.

USSR-PRC TRADE FORECAST TO FALL BY 40 PERCENT

PM081106 London THE FINANCIAL TIMES in English 8 Jul 81 p 6--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[David Satter dispatch: "Sino-Soviet Trade 'Will Fall by 40 Percent This Year']

[Text] Moscow--Sino-Soviet trade is forecast to fall by 40 per cent this year because of a sharp reduction in Chinese orders for old Soviet civilian aircraft.

The annual Sino-Soviet trade protocol, which was signed recently in Moscow, calls for trade this year to have a value of only 100m pounds compared with almost 200m pounds in 1980.

Chinese officials said that the decline in trade was the result of a cut in Chinese purchases of old Ilyushin-18 aircraft for civilian transportation following Chinese plans to buy aircraft from Boeing of the U.S.

Chinese purchases of Soviet aircraft had a value of 27.2m pounds in 1979.

China had also cut other orders of Soviet industrial equipment in keeping with plans for renovating the Chinese economy but would increase its purchases of Soviet timber and cotton, the officials said.

The Soviet Union has traditionally enjoyed almost balanced trade with China, and trade exchanges have continued for years at a modest level despite the tension in political relations.

The Soviet Union has exported transport equipment, including civilian aircraft, metal cutting equipment, trucks, and cable to China while importing consumer goods such as fruits, tea, cloth, clothing and shoes.